ANTI-CONFEDERACY,

OR,

A discovery of the iniquity and hypocrisie of the Solemne *LEAGUE* and *COVENANT*.

Prepared for the Presse some weeks before Christmas, but newly printed and published.

Isaiah 8. 12.

Say ye not a Confederacy to all them to whom this people shall say a Confederacy: neither feare ye their feare, nor be afraid.

Prov. 24. 21, 22.

My sonne, feare thou the LORD, *and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.*

For their calamity shall arise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both.

Hosea 10. 4.

They have spoken words, swearing falsly, in making a Covenant: thus judgement springeth up as hemlock in the furrowes of the field.

By Dr Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queens

Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

THE ANTI-CONFEDERACY, OR, A diſcovery of the iniquity and hypocriſie of the late Solemne LEAGUE and COVENANT.

THis know (ſaith the Apoſtle, 2 *Tim.* 3. 1.) *that in the laſt dayes perilous times ſhall come*; and this doe we of this Nation know in theſe our *laſt dayes* to our unexpreſſible griefe and inſupportable miſery. Never were, and we hope never ſhall be, more pernicious, *perilous times*, then theſe, into which we are now fallen: ſo much we all feele, and cry out of, even thoſe pernicious perilous ones themſelves, that have made the times ſo. And how come theſe times to be ſuch, or who are they that have ſo contrived them? The Apoſtle foretold us both in his next words. *For men ſhall be lovers of their owne ſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankfull, unholy, without naturall affection, truce-breakers, falſe-accuſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good, traytors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleaſures more then lovers of God, having a forme of godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof*, v. 2, 3, 4, 5. Such wretched men cannot but cauſe ſuch miſerable times. And if the Apoſtle had lived from that time till this, he could never have ſeen times ſo filled with ſuch men, and conſequently his owne propheſie ſo throughly fulfilled, as at this preſent. Such indeed is the reſemblance betwixt the *men of theſe times*, (for they love to heare themſelves ſo ſtiled) and thoſe men that the Apoſtle forewarnes of; that ſhould any of the moſt Saint-teachers at their *Margaret* meetings, chance to come ſo neere reprovers of the times crying ſinnes, as but to chooſe theſe 5 Verſes for their Introduction to their Sermons (that being

being constantly all the use they make of their Texts) I verily believe, though it were Saint *Stephen* the *proto-traytor* in this rebellion, or S. *Philip his fellow emissary*, (for the Devill hath his Disciples as well as Christ) though it were their admired *Jeremiah*, or their adored *Obediah* (for the Devill hath his Prophets too) instead of having two voted to thanke them for their paines, they would themselves be voted malignants or ill-affected for their very Text. Yet this must be acknowledged, and this present discovery of iniquity constraines us thereunto. The wickednesse of the men of these times, doth so farre exceed all the wickednesse, which the Apostle here mentioneth, that the last and highest degree, *viz: having a forme of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof*, can scarce be applied to them; they having proceeded in all ungodlinesse with that high hand and open profession, *declaring their sinne as Sodome, and hiding it not, Isaiah* 3. 9. that we can no longer allow them to have so much of godlinesse as the outward forme thereof. Howsoever, piety must still be pretended, or else the mischiefe intended would soon want both actors and fautors. The *Princes that are like wolves ravening the prey to shed blood & destroy soules, to get dishonest gaine, and the Prophets* that *dawbe them with untempered morter, seeing vanity and divining lyes unto them*, must both pretend a *Thus saith the Lord God*, for all; or else *the people of the land would never use oppression and exercise robbery* for them at their instigation, *Ezek.* 22. *v.* 27, 28, 29. They that aime at the *building up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity*; though *the heads*, or principall complotters amongst them, *judge for reward, and the Priests teach for hire, and the Prophets divine for money*: that is, though all the chiefe contrivers and encouragers to mischiefe have their owne base, bloudy, by-ends, at which they aime, yet they must make shew of *leaning upon the Lord*, and say, *that the Lord is amongst them, Micah* 3. *vers.* 10. 11. or else the people would never suffer themselves to be so abused and devoured by them. And therefore let not us in these times thinke it strange to see traytors and rebels both against God and his Vicegerent, whether they be the *head* or the *tayle*, (*for the ancient and honourable he is the head, and the Prophet that teacheth lies he is the tayle, Isaiah* 9. *v.* 15.) in all their treasons and rebellion, to pretend Gods honour, the advancement of true Religion, the Liberty of the Subject, &c. when they intend nothing lesse: for these *leaders of the people* could never *cause the people so to erre*, as to be led on thus to their owne ruine and destruction, did they not still, as as they rise in their iniquity, raise some specious fiction of dissembled piety to blind the poore peoples eyes withall. Let this last solemne League or Covenant pretended for the *Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happinesse of the King, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdomes of*

England,

England, Scotland, and Ireland, be the inſtance for all that hath beene ſpoken; and match it he that can, either for iniquity, or hypocriſie.

Not to trifle away time, when the pit is already digged, the ſnare layd, and the net ſpread for mens ſoules: He gives the beſt warning in ſuch a caſe, that gives the plaineſt and the ſooneſt.

He, that will ſuffer himſelfe to be truly and throughly informed of the iniquity and hypocriſie of this League or Covenant, muſt have the patience to admit of an inquiry into theſe 5 particulars,

1. The Contrivers and chiefe promoters of this League.
2. The pretended grounds and reaſons alledged by thoſe Contrivers for their entering into it.
3. The true ſcope or aime of it.
4. The forme or manner, wherein 'tis repreſented to us.
5. The ſubject matter, whereof it conſiſts.

Theſe ſeverall particulars being well examined, it may be hoped that the myſtery of iniquity wrapt up in this impious hypocriticall League or Covenant, whereunto we are required to ſet to no leſſe then our ſoules as ſeales, will be ſo farre revealed, that not only the long deceived people of this Kingdome, may at laſt perceive whither the *deceiveableneſſe of unrighteouſneſſe in them that periſh* is like to bring them; but alſo thoſe ſonnes of perdition, that have plotted all this miſchiefe, may be aſhamed and confounded together: which is the earneſt prayer of him who in the ſtrength of prayer, and not in any ſtrength of his owne undertooke this diſcovery, and ſo goes on; beginning firſt with the Contrivers and promoters of this League.

The preface or proeme of this League would have us to believe, that no leſſe then *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſter of the Goſpell, and Commons of all ſorts in the kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, had a hand in the complotting and contriving of it; for of all theſe it ſaith, *We &c. have reſolved and determined to enter into a mutuall and ſolemne League and Covenant.* And then followes this League and Covenant as the reſult of their reſolution and determination.

Here is iniquity well coloured over at the firſt daſh. What ſhould ſuch poore ſimple men as we, (may thouſands conclude) what ſhould we make any ſcruple of entering into this League, when *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Miniſters of the Goſpell, as well as Commons of all ſorts* in all three kingdomes have ſo reſolved and determined, if not already ſubſcribed and ſworne to it? And what may they of the remote parts of the earth, and of after ages conceive; in caſe any parts ſhould be ſo remote, or any ages continue ſo long, as not to have intelligence of the truth

of this conſpiracy? Surely, the kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, were very happy kingdomes for unity, peace, and concord; when the *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *Citizens*, *Burgeſſes*, *Miniſters of the Goſpell*, *and Commons of all ſorts*, *living under one King*, *and being of one Religion*, did ſo unanimouſly conſent and agree together, to enter into a *mutuall League and Covenant for the Reformation and defence of their Religion*, *for the honour and happineſſe of their King*, *and for the peace and ſafety of all three kingdomes*. What could any plots, Conſpiracies, attempts or practiſes of enemies hurt or indanger them, being ſo linked and co-united? Certainly they were all the *Noblemen*, and all the *Barons*, and all the *Knights*, and all the *Gentlemen*, &c. of all *three kingdomes* that entred into this League, or, at leaſt, they were the major part of each, and ſo concluded all the reſt, for otherwiſe they would have ſaid, we *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *&c. whoſe names are underwritten*; *or we that were aſſembled at ſuch a time and place*, or the like. 'Tis moſt true, I confeſſe; Theſe or the like may well be the thoughts of theſe, who will credit words without conſulting further; and I verily believe that for the gaining of ſome ſuch like credit, theſe words among the reſt were prefixed to this Covenant: but to ſatisfie you in the truth of theſe words; let me prevaile with you to examine them according to theſe Interrogatories,

1. *Inter.* Whether any of the *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *&c. of the kingdome of Ireland* either conſented to this League, or had any knowledge of it, before it was publikely entered into here in *England*? I dare anſwer for them, very few or none at all, and yet *Irelands* name muſt be uſed, leaſt otherwiſe the cloake of hypocriſie ſhould not be large enough to cover the Conſpirators of *Englands* iniquity.

2. *Inter.* Whether any conſiderable number of *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *&c. of the kingdome of Scotland*, have reſolved upon entering into this League; or whether ever they thought upon any ſuch courſe, till thoſe Traytors to their Country, as well as to their King, the late Solicitors for their native Nations ruine, tempted them thereunto? To the honour of thoſe Worthies be it ſpoken, we have good aſſurance, that the major and better part of the *Noblemen* and *Barons* of that kingdome have, ſince this League was reſolved upon in *England*, entered into another League amongſt themſelves, they, their friends, and followers, which if proſecuted (as we doubt not but with Gods aſſiſtance it will be moſt faithfully) the neck of this League will ſoone be broken; and their necks and heads begin to ake that complotted it.

3. *Inter.* What *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *&c.* of this diſtracted kingdome of *England* have as yet conſented to this League? For

Noblemen

Noblemen and *Barons*; (becauſe they are pleaſed ſo to diſtinguiſh them) ſo farre have they been from making a Covenant with death, and an agreement with hell, making lies their refuge, and hiding themſelves under falſhood, *Iſaiah* 28. 15. (the true periphraſis of entering into this ſolemne League and Covenant) that they have all of them (except onely ſome 20 or thereabouts) long ſince deſerted and abhorred the very Aſſemblies, wherein ought tending to this confederacy hath been countenanced. And of thoſe few who have been bewitched to thoſe Aſſemblies, ſome even of them (and remember them in the day of recompence for it) have both refuſed to enter into this League, and have ſtoutly and freely ſpoken againſt it, (though others after paring it a little and wrapping it up in their owne reſervations have adventured their throats and ſwallowed it;) So that if we take all the *Noblemen* and *Barons* of this kingdome, that have not yet ſhewne their diſtaſt of this Covenant, as conſenters to it: and grant all the conſenting Lords to be Contrivers and promoters of it, (which to my knowledge they diſclaime) yet *We Noblemen and Barons* that have reſolved and determined to enter into this League, muſt be reſolved and determined to be ſo few, that were their ſubſcriptions ſhewne, together with their reſervations at their taking it, this glorious Preface would not ſeduce many either to ſubſcribe to their judgement, or to imitate their example: And for the *Knights* and *Gentlemen* of this kingdome, who ſees not; that next to the *Noblemen*, *Barons*, and *Clergy*, this League and Covenant is made principally againſt them; they being, by reaſon of their loyalty to their Soveraigne, and their eminency of worth and eſtate above other men, the prime Malignants and incendiaries (as they terme them) that theſe Confederates aime at? and therefore, unleſſe they have an ambition to be the laſt *Knights* and *Gentlemen* of their Families, as ſome have had to be the firſt; they will not ſo betray their Poſterity as to come neere ſuch a Confederacy, as will undoubtedly render them the objects either of their gracious Soveraignes diſpleaſure, or of the rude peoples mercy. For *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes*; ſhould this knot of Confederates come to be united, (as 'tis to be hoped the ſword will, if a gentler hand doe not) there will not be found ſo many in number throughout this whole kingdome, to avouch this Confederacy, as had the valour to confeſſe themſelves Confederates in the late Plot, upon which the laſt Covenant was pretended to be grounded. Perhaps ſome few decayed, crackt, broken, deſperate ones, that had formerly lift up their hands againſt their Lord the King, and embrued them in their brothers bloud, have now, at the tendering of this rebellious League, lifted up their hands againe, and ſet them to this bloudy Covenant: but the extraordinary haſtning and preſſing the taking of it in the houſe of Commons,

without

without allowing any juſt reſpite for debating and Conſulting about it, ſeemeth ſtrongly to argue, that the prime Conſpirators durſt not truſt many with the knowledge of it before hand. Indeed for *Miniſters*: I am afraid, too many of them both of *England* and *Scotland*, have been too active in the contriving and complotting of this League, as well as in the promoting of it. The canting language wherewith 'tis clothed, and the prettie hiſtrionicall tricks wherewith it was at firſt brought on the ſtage by *Patriarch Henderſon, Father White*, and others, ſpeake no leſſe; and that ſeditious paper, ſtiled the *Anſwer of the generall Aſſembly in* Scotland, *to the Letter of ſome of their Reverend brethren of the Miniſtry in* England, *&c.* together with that other paper of the like nature, entituled, *A Declaration of the Convention of Eſtates of the kingdome of* Scotland *concerning the preſent Expedition into* England, teſtifie as much ſo farre as their owne words may be taken for evidence; In the former whereof you have theſe words, *Let us even enter into a perpetuall Covenant for our ſelves and poſterity, to endeavour that all things may be done in the houſe of the Lord according to his owne will, &c.* In the latter theſe. *Theſe three Committees* (ſpeaking of the Committee of the Convention of Eſtates, and the Committee of the Generall Aſſembly of *Scotland* joyned with the Committee of both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and all three lately convened in *Scotland*) *after ſome meetings for debate and deliberation, did reſolve in end, that according to the commendable practiſe of the two kingdomes in former times of diſtreſſe and danger, the example of Gods people in other nations; and the late example of the Kirke and kingdome of* Scotland (this laſt is but implyed in the Introduction to this League; but the other precedents are expreſſed almoſt in the ſame words though moſt falſe, as ſhall be by and by ſhewne) *the beſt and moſt effectuall meanes for preſerving Religion and both kingdomes from utter ruine and deſtruction, and for procuring peace and all other bleſſings more*; That *both kingdomes enter into a ſolemne League or Covenant, to be ſworne and ſubſcribed by his Majeſties ſubjects of all degrees in both kingdomes, who love the true Proteſtant Reformed Religion, his Majeſties honour and ſafety, and their owne happineſſe. And therefore they did with common conſent agree upon the firſt lineaments and principall parts of a Covenant, &c.* What evidence can be more cleare? And 'tis as evident that the preſent Conventicle (ſlanderouſly called an Aſſembly of learned and godly Divines) did convene on purpoſe to advance this confederacy. The prime Articles of this confederacy being to extirpate the preſent Church government by *Archbiſhops, Biſhops &c.* and to ſettle ſuch a Government in the Church, as may have a neerer agreement with the Church of *Scotland*; and the Lords and Commons in their Ordinance for the calling of this Aſſembly expreſly declaring,

declaring, that, for the *better effecting of* those two things, they *thought it fit and necessary to call this Assembly to consult and advise touching the same.* For *Ministers* then, it cannot be denyed but they are very deep in this conspiracy, as constantly some of that tribe have been in all conspiracies since *Korah's*: But that these are *Ministers of the Gospell*, may not be granted if we love the honour either of the *Gospell*, or of the *Ministry* thereof. The *Gospel* is a *Gospel* of *Truth*; but these *Ministers* are sufficiently knowne to be teachers of most palpable *lies* and *fables*; The *Gospel* is a Gospel of *meekness* and *selfe-denyall*, whereas *pride* and *selfe-seeking*, are, next to *sedition* and *rebellion*, these *Ministers* proper notes of distinction and discrimination: In a word, the *Gospel* is a Gospel of *peace*, whereas these *Ministers* are very *Priests of Mars*, and the principall *incendiaries* of all our unnaturall and bloudy Wars: but it is enough, for the use that is made of them, that they are *Ministers*: their calling themselves *Ministers of the Gospel*, in their owne apprehension addes much to the credit of their present undertaking; but in the apprehension of those, that are of credit, it addes little to the honour of their calling, that such as call themselves *Ministers of the Gospel* should appeare in so ungospel-like a Confederacy. There is one sort of men more, which the Contrivers of this League are pleased to joyne with themselves in this Conspiracy, and they are *Commons of all sorts*; *tag* and *rag*, *Coblers* and *Tinkers*, *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, fit associates in such a businesse. And yet it may be doubted, whether they have to this present gained of all *sorts* of *Commons* to joyne with them; there being more *sorts of Commons*, then they (as well acquainted with Community as they are knowne to be) are aware of: much lesse can it be thought that *all sorts* of *Commons* were received into the first resolution and determination of this confederacy; but suppose they have by their Preachers of all *sorts*, drawne some of the *Commons* of every *sort* into their conspiracy; yet they must suffer us to admire, how the *Commons of all sorts* came to be enlightned with such clearnesse and supereminency of knowledge and understanding, as to find such errours and abuses in the established Doctrine, Discipline, and Government of our Church, as their learned and religious Fathers and Fore-fathers in almost an hundred yeares space, could never discover such, even such, as call upon *them* both publickly to reforme, and utterly to extirpate the very orders and degrees, the very callings and professions of those men, that have so erred and abused their professions. The *Commons of all sorts* in either of the three kingdomes have not used to be men of so deepe knowledge and sound judgement, of so acute wits and discerning spirits: but we may see, how the making of all things common for a while hath wrought upon the *Commons of all sorts*; they

are the more able to be Reformers both of Church and State, and dare ſweare that they will reforme and extirpate to, before they know either what is amiſſe in others, or what they would have themſelves. But to go on a little further with the *Contrivers*, propounding one or two Interrogatories more, All theſe *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen*, profeſſe *that* they *live under one King, and are of one reformed Religion.* Certainly here they forgot themſelves exceedingly. For if they live all under one King, Inter. 4. How comes it to paſſe that they preſume to enter into a League and Covenant for reformation of the Church or State without the leave and conſent of that one *King* firſt obtained! We read in ſacred writ of ſeverall Covenants made by the people, and ſome for publicke reformation; but not one that was ever entered upon, I may ſay reſolved on, without the conſent of that King, or ſupreme Magiſtrate, under whom that people which made that Covenant lived. And if the *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens and Burgeſſes*, that are now aſſembled in Parliament had the ſupremacy, (as ſome of late, contrary to their Oaths, have ventured to affirme) then to enter into a League for reformation of Religion, and for extirpation of this or that, which they apprehended to be offenſive, though eſtabliſhed by ſundry lawes, without the Kings conſent, might ſeeme in ſome caſe to be ſomewhat plauſible: although, if the King were but as one of the three Eſtates, whoſe conſents are all neceſſarily required to the making or altering any Law; reaſon and Religion both would tell us, that it were neither faire nor juſt to exclude his conſent, much leſſe to reſolve and determine any ſuch thing, contrary to his expreſſe reſolution and determination. But then, when theſe men profeſſe themſelves to *live under one King*, and yet to attempt a reformation and alteration both of Church and State, not onely without that *one Kings* conſent, but contrary to his judgement, will and command, (I might have added alſo, contrary to his Oath taken at his Coronation) 'tis but to cry Haile King of the Jewes with their mouth, and to betray and crucifie him with their actions. And if all their *Mineſters Aſſiſtants* of that illegitimate Aſſembly can but ſhew any one inſtance of any people, (that were not open rebels) that ever did aſſay the like, I ſhall yeild them to be, what only themſelves and their flatterers boaſt them, the moſt learned Aſſembly, that this age hath ſeene. Againe, they all proclaime themſelves to be of *one reformed Religion.* And if ſo; why doe they afterwards ſweare to *endeavour the preſervation of the reformed Religion of the Church of* Scotland, and *the reformation of Religion in the kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland? If the *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Commons of all ſorts in* all the three kingdomes, be of one reformed Religion, what need they enter into ſuch a ſolemne

lemne League or Covenant to reforme that what is already reformed? or why at leaſt ſhould the Religion of *England* and *Ireland* be now againe more reformed then the Religion of *Scotland*? are there any in *England* or *Ireland* of any other ranke, quality, or ſort, then are here ſpecified, who are not of this one Reformed religion? or wherein lies the knottineſſe of this Riddle? Beſides, were but the confiding *Noblemen* and *Barons* of this one kingdome of *England* put to it, I verily believe they would ſcarce confeſſe themſelves to be of the ſame Reformed religion with the great *Say* and *Seale*, or if they ſhould, 'tis thought his greatneſſe would not acknowledge his Religion to be ſo defective or erroneous as that all three kingdomes had need to ſweare to reforme it. The like may be ſaid of the religion of the moſt confiding *Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpell, and Commons of all ſorts*: nay, would not a ſober religious man that obſerves their lives and actions chooſe rather to ſweare, that the moſt of them are of no religion at all? much leſſe of *one Religion*, and leaſt of all of the *reformed Religion*: But religion, and the Reformed religion too, muſt be pretended, or elſe the people of this Nation, amongſt whom the true Reformed religion hath been ſo long and ſo happily exerciſed and eſtabliſhed, could never be ſeduced to enter into ſuch a horrid confederacy, to the diſhonour of religion, and to the ruine of themſelves and their poſterity. Neither would the Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and other ſectaries (who are no ſmall party in this conſpiracy) joyne therein, were they not made believe, that they and the reſt of their fellow-conſpirators are all of one religion ſo farre, that in the Reformation further intended, others are as likely to conforme to them, as to require them to conforme to others; at leaſt, they and others having ſo ſolemnly profeſſed themſelves to be all of one reformed religion already; others will hereafter be aſhamed to upbraid or reproach them for their religion, as formerly they have done. If this *one reformed Religion*, of which all theſe Confederates profeſſe themſelves to be, had beene ſo expreſſed that all men might have knowne what *reformed Religion* they meane, whether the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in ſome of the reformed Churches beyond the Seas, or the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, or either of them; then perhaps the Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and other Sectaries might have ſtartled at the making ſuch a profeſſion: but being ſo indefinitely phraſed as to be called onely *One reformed Religion*, that one may be taken for ſo large a one, as neither the one nor the other need to ſcruple it: for now by this *unam vagam*, others of the Confederacy doe as much profeſſe themſelves to be of the Religion of the Anabaptiſts and Browniſts (they affirming themſelves to be of the reformed

med Religion, though none can be more oppoſite to that Religion commonly ſo called) as either Anabaptiſts or Browniſts do profeſſe themſelves to be of the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, or in any other Church whatſoever. But no more of the Contrivers of this League, and but a little more of the Promoters.

The promoters of this League and Covenant, that declare themſelves ſo to be, are ſome of the Houſe of Commons, and the Conclave of Divines, with ſome other Miniſters of their ſtampe. For evidence of the former you have their owne Orders; for teſtimony of the latter you have the publike concurrence of thoſe Divines and their complices, with thoſe Orders. Amongſt other Orders, we are told by that of *Septemb.* 30. 1643. uſually printed with this Covenant, That *divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and divers Colonels, Officers, and Souldiers, and others now reſiding within the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and within the Line of Communication*, were ſo forward in promoting this League, that they *deſired to meet the next Friday after at S.* Margarets *Church at* Weſtminſter (the Scribe or the Printer deſerves a check for that ſuperſtitious epithite) *there to take this Solemne League or Covenant, &c.* alſo, that *divers of the Scotiſh Nation were deſirous to meet at the ſame time and place*, and *divers Miniſters, who had no charge within the ſaid limits, to take the ſaid Covenant.* And therefore for the ſatisfaction of all their deſires, It was ordered by the Commons aſſembled, that *Maſter* Carrill *of Lincolnes Inne ſhould be deſired to preach that Friday to thoſe that ſhould ſo meet, &c.* By which Order you are tacitly requeſted that you would believe this League and Covenant to be ſuch a pious, godly, religious thing, that it was no ſooner heard of, but every man of worth or note longed to take it; and for feare they ſhould not have it in time, to ſave their longing, as alſo to prevent miſcarrying of that ſweet baby, wherewith they were then ſo great, they made it their ſute to the Houſe of Commons that they would appoint the next *diem Veneris* for their chaſt meeting at S. *Margarets*: and leſt any ſhould loath, when they began to taſt, what before they ſeemed to luſt for, it was carefully provided, that one, who had already ſwallowed it, ſhould mount the conſtant banke where all ſuch ſtuffe is vented, and there magnifie the approved excellencie of this rare antidote; as you have ſometimes ſeen D. *Puncteus*, or ſome other *Empericke*. And yet to ſee the ſudden turning of ſome mens ſtomacks; when that ſet day came, the longing *Lords* would none of it at that time, nor in many dayes after; and, for ought I can learne, the *Knights* and *Gentlemen* were as ſquemiſhly affected. What the *Colonels, Officers*, and *Souldiers* did that deſired day; or what thoſe *divers of the Scotiſh Nation*, and thoſe *Miniſters who had no charge within the Line of Communication* (a rare invention to know what

Runnagadoe

Runnagadoe rebell Miniſters were about the Citie, not yet thruſt into ſome true, faithfull, painfull, loyall Paſtors Cure) what I ſay they did, I leave to the ſacred Roll in the cuſtody of Colonel *Long*, and Mr *John Browne*; wiſhing onely that His Majeſtie had but a Copie of that Roll here at *Oxford*, that ſo he might ſee what zealous Covenanters he hath for his *Majeſties honour and happineſſe*, and the peace and ſafety of his three Kingdomes; men ſo zealous and ſo ambitious to be knowne ſo to be, that, leſt they ſhould not be ſufficiently taken notice of, if they had taken this Covenant, according to the Order of *Septemb.* 25, on the next Sunday after that Moneths Faſt, when all the Inhabitants of the Pariſhes within the Bils of Mortality were ordered to take it; they deſired to make a Friday worke of it (which I hope hereafter they will for that act's ſake call their *Good-Friday*) and to have an Order made to publiſh their deſires to all the Kingdome. But in the interim what pretty juggling here was with ſome; for either divers *Lords*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, &c. did in earneſt deſire to take this Solemne League and Covenant on that Friday mentioned, and to have an Order from the Commons to countenance them in that act; and then it may be wondred how they durſt hazard their great Maſters diſpleaſure ſo as to neglect it: or elſe (which is now a-dayes accounted a maine piece of holy policie, and conſtantly practiſed) ſome of the Houſe of Commons thought it would much advantage their cauſe to pretend ſuch a deſire, and upon that pretence to procure ſuch an Order both to countenance the League it ſelfe, and to allure others the more willingly to take it; and thereupon they faigned ſuch a vehement deſire to be in ſuch perſons, and framed that Order upon their owne fiction. Conceive which you pleaſe; before this time the Order is diſperſed where they would have it, and you ſhall ſooner make the well-affected to ſcruple an Article of their Creed, then an Order of the Houſe of Commons. But paſſe by that, The Promoters were reſolved, that the Lords ſo many of them as had an ambition to be fellow-States with them, ſhould enter into this League with them; onely they did not know how for the preſent to Order them therein, unleſſe they did frame their Order in ſome gentle dandling termes, importing rather a deſire of the Lords, then their owne will and pleaſure: and becauſe it would ſtill have beene too palpable a fetch, to have faigned the deſire of the Lords alone, they having as yet ſome power left to appoint both time & place, and a Preacher too (if they needed any) for their owne taking it, without deſiring leave from the Commons; therefore they joyned with them *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *Colonels*, *Officers*, *&c.* and 'tis but fit ſuch ſhould deſire, and humbly petition too, that they might be admitted into ſo ſacred a League, e're it were tendered them; leſt otherwiſe that precious pearle might chance to be caſt before Swine. But ſtill I cannot fathome

the bottome of that profound *Order*, as why divers of the *Scottish Nation*, and *divers Ministers that have no charge within the Line of Communication*, should be specified as men desirous to meet at the same time and place with the *Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, &c.* were those of that Northerne Nation so hot upon it, that they could not abstaine from entring into this League, till they returned into their owne Country, and saw how their owne Lords, Kindred, and Friends liked it? and were those *non-resident Ministers* so inflamed with the love of it, that they could not forbeare subscribing and swearing to it, till they came to their owne Charges and Cures? there are divers as honest men as either of these, (without disparagement be it spoken) that would have been glad of so faire a plea to have gained forbearance till they had better understood what they did; but 'tis a shrewd signe they have little desire, either the one sort to returne to their Cures, or the other into their Country; other mens Livings or Estates within the Lines of Communication would better sute with their desires; and they could not be obtained or held without some shew of strong affection to the *Covenant*. Howsoever I cannot but admire their luck (whatsoever I doe their wit or their honesty) that they should jumpe so just in their desires with divers *Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, &c.* not onely for the thing it selfe, but for the very circumstances of time and place: Surely his *name* was *Legion* that possessed them with that desire; for one of those spirits could never have possessed so many of all sorts at once. And thus having at last brought the *Contrivers* and *Promoters* of this *League* home to their old Master, I leave them; yet not without praying for a better service for them.

The second particular to be inquired after, for the discovery of this mysterie of iniquity, is, The *pretended grounds and reasons alleadged by the Contrivers of this League for their entring into it*. And they are expressed in the *Introduction* to this League to be these five. 1. *The glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. 2. *The honour and happinesse of the Kings Majestie, and His Posterity*. 3. *The true publique liberty, safety, and peace of the Kingdomes, wherein every ones private condition is included*. 4. *The treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and practises of the enemies of God against the true Religion, and Professors thereof in all places, especially in these three Kingdomes ever since the reformation of Religion*. 5. *The increase and exercise of these* enemies *rage, power, and presumption, of late and at this time, whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdome of* Ireland, *the distressed estate of the Church and Kingdome of* England, *and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdome of* Scotland *are present and publique testimonies*. Here are as specious and pious motives, as ever Rebellion and Treason did pretend to; such, as they

that

that eſcape the being enſnared thereby, muſt aſcribe their deliverance to no leſſe then the Almighty power of his Spirit, who as he giveth warning of *ſeducing ſpirits and doctrines of Devils, ſpeaking lyes in hypocriſie, having their conſciences ſeared with a hot iron*: 1. *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. ſo he, and he onely giveth grace to avoid them. But ſo farre is the wickedneſſe of theſe hypocrites broken forth, that no maske or cloake is able to cover it: as will farther appeare by a briefe ſurvey of the palpable falſitie of all and every of theſe pretended grounds.

As firſt; whereas they pretend to have *the glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt before their eyes*, in their reſolving upon, and entring into this Solemne League. 'Tis knowne to as many of this Kingdome as know what 'tis to glorifie God, that never was God more diſhonoured, or his glorious name more blaſphemed, then by theſe *Confederates*, and their Complices, ſeditious and lying Teachers. What horrid blaſphemies, loud lyes, loathſome prophaneſſes, deep-wounding ſlaunders, even of the Lords Anointed himſelfe; bloudy croakings, and diabolicall pervertings of holy Scriptures to palliat all theſe; have beene preached, prayed, printed, and otherwiſe publiſhed by thoſe glorious pretenders, ſince they have had liberty to vent themſelves? How hath rapine and robbery, adultery and all manner of uncleanneſſe, bloudſhed and murther, Rebellion and Treaſon, Church-defiling and Church-defacing, not onely beene connived at, but countenanced by them; and yet theſe men bluſh not to ſay, that they have *the glory of God before their eyes*: certainly, if they have any ſuch thing before their eyes, 'tis onely as their Water-men uſe to have one place in their eye, and row to another that is quite contrary; for otherwiſe can any that hath his eyes in his head, be perſwaded that men of ſuch blacke deeds, looke at Gods glory in doing them? no, nor doe themſelves believe, (ſo farre as faith can be ſeene by workes) that the God of glory lookes upon them or their deeds, but rather hideth his face and will never ſee them: *Pſal.* 10. *v.* 11. Well did one of the Lords Prophets long ſince prophecie of them and their Prophets in that place before touched. *Micha* 3. *v.* 10, 11. *They build up Zion with bloud, and Jeruſalem with iniquity: The heads thereof judge for reward, and the Prieſts thereof teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they leane upon the Lord, and ſay, Is not the Lord among us?* And though he be not, yet it ſeemes they hope he will be, and that in ſome extraordinary manner, could they but accompliſh their deſigne; and therefore they adde to their aiming at Gods glory the advancing *of the Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*: And what thinke you doe they meane by that? Why, be but candid interpreters of my adventuring to gheſſe at other mens meanings, and I ſhall goe very neare to tell you theirs. There

There was an ancient hereſie, condemned many yeares ſince in the Church of God, *That Chriſt ſhall reigne as a King or Monarch in a worldly, viſible, earthly glory, &c. for the ſpace of a thouſand yeares.* This hereſie was againe revived by the Anabaptiſts, when they came to ſhew themſelves in their colours; and they, ſcorning to take up any opinion without adding to it ſome deſperate fancy of their owne, did from thence perſwade and urge men to doe their beſt for the ſuppreſſing all power and rule of Kings, Princes, and other Magiſtrates; that ſo a way might be prepared for Chriſt alone, to reigne as they expected. And doubtleſſe 'tis the advancement of this *Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, that theſe preſent Anabaptiſticall Confederates (for ſuch the principall of them are known to be) do here ayme at. The great eſteeme and credit that this opinion is growne into amongſt that kind of people within theſe three yeares, above what it ever found in this Church ſince the reformation; The many Sermons that have lately beene preached, and the ſeverall Tractates that have beene new printed and tranſcribed in the juſtification thereof, together with the expreſſions uſed in this very League and Covenant, ſavouring ſtrongly of that leaven (as that amongſt the reſt in the cloſe of the ſecond Article; *that the Lord may be one, and his name one, &c.* which although they are the words of the Prophet *Zachary, chap. 14. v. 9.* and in that reſpect cannot be ſufficiently reverenced, yet they have beene, and ſtill are ſo much abuſed by thoſe hereticks, to the ſupport of that their hereſie, that we cannot but ſuſpect that they are here uſed for the like end.) Thus *Archer* perverts thoſe words in his pernicious Pamphlet, ſtiled *The perſonall reigne of Chriſt upon earth.* p. 12. And it may well be thought theſe Arch-Confederators ſhot with the ſame bowe. All theſe put together doe ſpell little leſſe, ſo farre as we are able to reade mens mindes in their words and actions. And the next alleadged motive for the entring into this League, ſeemeth alſo to looke that way: For how can any man, that hath but heard the hundreth part of what theſe Conſpirators have attempted and done againſt the perſon, honour, and eſtate of the King, notwithſtanding their ſeverall Declarations and Proteſtations to the contrary, ſo befoole and gull his owne common ſenſe and judgement, as to thinke, that theſe men intend the honour and happineſſe of the Kings Majeſtie and his Poſterity? unleſſe they fancy to themſelves, that by that time they have made that alteration in Church and State which they deſire; the Lord Chriſt will come in perſon, and ſet up his Throne here on earth, and all *Kings of the earth ſhall bring their glory and honour unto it*; that is, (as they corrupt that Text, *Revelat. 21. 24.*) lay downe their honours there; and ſo *all Rulers ſhall ſerve and obey him, &c.* (as they alſo turne the ſtreame of that and ſuch like Prophecies, *Daniel 7. 27.* into their owne furious torrent.)

And

And then what greater honour can befall His Majeſtie and His Poſterity, then to reſigne up their Crownes and Scepters immediately into Chriſts hands? or rather to caſt them downe at his feet *before his Throne*; the honour and happineſſe of thoſe 24 Elders, *Revelat.* 4. 10. But if this be their meaning, why doe they not let the Crowne and Scepter alone to their wearing and managing, to whom Chriſt hath committed them, till he himſelfe require them to yeild them up to him? How ſhall Kings and Princes bring in their glory and honour to Chriſt, and caſt downe their Crownes and Scepters before his Throne, at his comming to reigne perſonally here on earth; when, if theſe men had their wils, all their glory and honour ſhould be inſtantly laid in the duſt, and their Crownes and Scepters beaten to it? I know there is another way, and that which I rather incline to believe, whereby the honour and happineſſe of the King and his poſterity may be and is already much advanced by theſe Confederates: and that is this. The many curſed aſſaults and attempts which they have made againſt His Majeſties Sacred Perſon, the many execrable lyes and ſlaunders wherewith they have loaded his precious Name, the deteſtable injuries and indignities which they have done to his beloved Queene, the ſordid baſeneſſe and unworthineſſe that they have exerciſed upon his deare Children, the intolerable and unheard of incroachments and uſurpations, whereby they have invaded his Revenues, Crowne, and royall dignity; the rapines, robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties which they have a long time practiſed upon all his faithfull and loyall Subjects throughout this Kingdome of *England*, together with that extreame hazard of the loſſe of his Kingdome of *Ireland*, and thoſe perilous ſeditious tumults now againe raiſed in his Kingdome of *Scotland*, wherein their hands are viſibly moſt deepe. Theſe and all theſe trayterous, rebellious, impious, deviliſh practiſes of theirs, have ſo exerciſed and tryed the faith, patience, meekneſſe, gentleneſſe, wiſedome, clemency, mercy, and other graces of Gods Spirit in His Majeſtie, and rendred them all ſo eminent and glorious in the eyes of all ſober, judicious Chriſtians, as well Forreiners as others, that there is no King in Chriſtendome but may juſtly envy the deſerved honour and happineſſe of the preſent King of *England*. But His Majeſtie hath no more reaſon to thanke theſe Confederates for this, then *David* had to thanke *Abſolon* for the like honour, or *Job* to thanke the *Devill* for the like happineſſe. I would not willingly derogate the leaſt from the Kings honour, or leſſen that which any intend Him: and therefore if you pleaſe we will take their meaning in the utmoſt extent, ſo farre at leaſt as we can reach it. Perhaps they thinke, that to retaine the title of King, to weare the Royall Crowne, and to be poſſeſſor of other Enſignes of Regalitie; and yet withall to be freed from the many perplexing

cares, troubles, and distractions, that constantly attend Kings and Soveraigne Princes in the ruling, governing, and protecting their Subjects, is both honour and happinesse sufficient for any Prince to enjoy; and this honour and happinesse, it may be, these Conspirators would be content for a while to allow the King, if he would yeild up all His Soveraignty, Power, and Authority to them, and his faithfull and loyall Subjects to their mercy, *aliàs* cruelty, or tyrannie: but, blessed be the King of Kings for it, our most gracious King is not yet left to their allowance, nor are all we His most loyall, loving, and royally beloved Subjects, as yet delivered up to their will and pleasure, though too many of us are. Oh but will some say, Whatsoever they doe to the King, or to any of His Subjects, they doe it all for the true publique liberty, safety, and peace of the Kingdomes, wherein every ones private condition is included. This indeed is their third ground pretended for the taking this Covenant, but as full of hypocrisie and close-couched iniquity, as the rest.

I grant that distinction, which some have most trayterously abused, to be in it selfe soberly true. The King hath a double *capacity*, a *naturall* and a *politique*, and so hath every Subject; but, till these seditious rebellious times came, as he that had wronged or injured any Subject in his *naturall* capacity, had not failed to have smarted for it in his *politique* capacity; so he that had but intended, much more spoken or acted any mischiefe against the King in his *naturall* capacity, had beene sure to have beene hanged for it in his *politique* capacity, notwithstanding that plea of intending the publique liberty, safety, or peace of the Kingdome: for Religion, as well as reason and Law, tells us, that the publique liberty, safety, and peace of a Kingdome consists principally in the honour, safety, and welfare of the King. And therefore the Apostle exhorts, that, *first of all*, or before all things, *supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thankes be made for Kings* in the first place, alleadging this as the ground of his exhortation, *that we may* [by that meanes] *lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty*: 1. Tim. 2. *v.* 1, 2. And the people of *Israel* so long as they continued loyall, esteemed the safety of their King above the safety of *ten thousand* of themselves: 2. *Sam.* 18. and accounted the taking away the Lords Anointed from them, as the taking away their lives or *breath of their nostrils*, *Lament.* 4. 20. Let these Confederates then talke what they please of *having before their eyes the true publique liberty, safety, and peace of the Kingdomes, &c.* so long as we heare with our owne eares those *Sheba's*, where e're they come, blowing their Trumpets to make parties against the King; and those *Shimei's* cursing him, we trust God will never give us over to such strong delusion, as to believe them. The *liberty*, *safety*, and *peace* of these three Kingdomes

are

are ſo bound up, and included in the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* of the King, that, as ſad experience may aſſure us, if nothing elſe will, they flouriſh and proſper together, they languiſh and decay together, they live and die together. I could willingly part with this third pretence, without raking further in it, preſuming that it ſtinkes ſufficiently already in the noſthrils of every one that hath his ſenſes about him. Onely the termes of limitation wherein it is preſented, tempt me to aske this one queſtion e're I leave it. Why doe they reſtraine the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace of the Kingdomes*, to the *true publique liberty, ſafety, and peace thereof*; adding further, *wherein every ones private condition is included?* Were they affraid, that if they had declared in cleare termes at large, that they aymed at the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace of the Kingdomes*, every ones owne private miſerable condition, wherein they have plunged the people of this Kingdome, would have prompted them to ſuſpect the truth of ſuch a Declaration, and to aske with boldneſſe, where is that *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace*, whereof they ſpeak, to be found? or when can it be hoped for, ſo long as theſe men runne on in their courſes ſo directly contrary thereunto? And therefore, to blinde the people, they beſtow a few more words upon them, confining the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace of the Kingdomes*, which they intend, to ſuch a compaſſe, that the people ſhall be never the wiſer, if they enquire into it; nor the better, if they ſhould enjoy it. For although ordinary men can tell pretty well, as yet, what *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* is, even by the former enjoying thoſe bleſſings, and their preſent want of them; yea, what the *publique liberty*, and the *publique ſafety*, and the *publique peace of theſe Kingdomes*, is yet I believe few can tell, what theſe men meane by the *true publique liberty, ſafety, and peace of theſe Kingdomes*: whether the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* of thoſe ſelect ones that have beene publiquely accuſed of High Treaſon; or the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* of all thoſe, who tooke the laſt Oath or Covenant, in whatſoever they have or ſhall doe in purſuance thereof; or whether they meane by this *true publique liberty, ſafety and peace*, the full licence, leave, and liberty, of openly & publiquely practiſeing what they have beene theſe many yeares ſecretly and cloſely plotting and contriving againſt the eſtabliſhed government of this Church and State. We know that they aſſume to themſelves the ſole power of interpreting and determining what is to be accounted *true*, and what *publique*, and what every thing is, or is not, in every kind: and therefore ſhould they be charged never ſo much (though as much as they deſerve) with being enemies to the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* of all three Kingdomes, or of this one: They could ſoone anſwer, 'tis no matter what becomes of the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* of any or all particular men; the *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* which they plead for, is not the *true publique liber-*

ty, ſafety, and peace which theſe Confederates meane: and private men muſt be contented every one of them to looſe their owne *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace*, in hope of that *true publique liberty, ſafety, and peace*, which they intend; *every ones private condition being included in that.* Such a pretty Platonicall *Idea* of the *true publique liberty, ſafety, and peace of the Kingdomes* have theſe Conſpirators fancyed, wherein all men muſt believe their owne particular *liberty, ſafety*, and *peace* to be included, though they finde and feele themſelves utterly excluded from the reall partaking of any ſuch thing, as either *liberty, ſafety*, or *peace*, and from all hopes of ever enjoying ought like it, whileſt they have one penny in their purſes, or one drop of bloud in their veines, which theſe Confederates can ſqueeze from them. Now here is hypocriſie enough, a man would thinke, already diſcovered, to make the Devill a cloake: and yet for feare leſt all this ſhould not cover theſe Confederates iniquity,

In the fourth place they labour to amuſe us with the ſuggeſtion of *treacherous and bloudy Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and Practiſes of the enemies of God againſt the true Religion and Profeſſors thereof in all places, &c.* As alſo In the fifth and laſt place, that the *rage, power, and preſumption of theſe enemies are of late and at this time much increaſed and exerciſed, whereof the deplorable eſtate of the Church and Kingdome of* Ireland, *the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Church and Kingdome of* England, *and the dangerous eſtate of the Church and Kingdome of* Scotland *are preſent and publike teſtimonies.* The onely truths which as yet we have heard from them; but moſt foully abuſed by them to advance their wicked deſigne: ſuch a ſtrange enmity there is betwixt truth and them, that they ſeldome declare any truth, but 'tis to pervert it. That there have beene many *treacherous and bloudy Plots, Conſpiracies, &c. of the Enemies of God, againſt the true Religion and Profeſſors thereof in all places, eſpecially in theſe three Kingdomes, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion*, is a truth ſealed with the bloud of many glorious Martyrs. That the *rage, power, and preſumption of the Enemies of God, are of late and at this time much increaſed and exerciſed*, is a truth of no leſſe evidence: the inſtances alleadged of the preſent eſtates of all three Kingdomes, are ſuch teſtimonies as cannot be gaine-ſaid; and teſtimonies recorded in bloud too, as well as the former; and it may be diſputed which bloud cryes loudeſt for vengeance. And now that they have had the hap to hit upon a truth or two, I could wiſh they had held on in that way one ſtep further, and told us who thoſe *Enemies of God* are: and then they had dealt ingenuouſly with us. For thoſe *Enemies of God*, who have in former times plotted, conſpired, attempted, and practiſed againſt the *true Religion, and Profeſſors thereof* in theſe three Kingdomes; they might happily thinke it ſuperfluous to name them:

and

and it would argue their Feares and Jealouſies to be a little too prodigious, now to make a League or Covenant againſt the Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and practiſes of enemies, who long ſince periſhed in, or with thoſe their wicked devices, although the ſenſe of theſe Confederates words may ſeeme to import no leſſe. But for theſe *Enemies of God*, whoſe *rage, power, and preſumption againſt the true Religion is ſo much increaſed and exerciſed in theſe preſent times*, 'tis very requiſite and neceſſarie that their names, and whatſoever elſe may conduce to their diſcovery, ſhould be made knowne to all men. 'Tis too well knowne, I confeſſe, whom theſe *Confederates* would have to be reputed theſe *Enemies of God, &c.* viz. *Malignants, Delinquents*, the *Prelaticall Clergy*, the *Popiſhly affected*, and the *Evill Councellors*. And 'tis as well known whom they have declared and voted to be ſuch; namely all thoſe that have not, or ſhall not joyne with them in their preſent Rebellion and Confederacie. But the *Enemies of God* are not they whom hypocrites call or vote ſo, but they whom God himſelfe accounts ſo, amongſt whom hypocrites are the chiefe; and of all hypocrites that ever cheated the earth and ſtored hell, theſe Confederates deſerve the Primacie. Beſides, if to diſhonour God, and ſcandalize Religion, be to be enemies to both, let it be examined, and it will ſoone appeare, that theſe *Confederates* (ſome whereof are Anabaptiſts, ſome Browniſts, ſome Familiſts, ſome Donatiſts, ſome Arians, ſome Antinomians, ſome of many Religions, and the moſt of none) have more diſhonoured God, and ſcandalized true Religion in this one Kingdome within theſe three or foure yeares, then all the *plots, conſpiracies, attempts*, and *practiſes* of the moſt profeſſed *enemies of God* ever did ſince the Reformation: and had it not beene for theſe men whom they have ſtiled *Malignants, Delinquents, Prelaticall Clergy-men, Popiſhly affected, Evill Counſellors*, or the like, (the King himſelfe not being exempted by theſe Traytors from one or more of thoſe titles) it had not failed but the true Religion had e're this beene quite baniſhed this Kingdome, and both Church and State brought to confuſion.

You have heard the pretended grounds or reaſons alleadged by theſe Confederates, for their contriving and taking this ſolemne League and Covenant: Proceed we on to the true intended ſcope and ayme thereof, which is the third thing to be enquired after, and will render the iniquity and hypocriſie of this League moſt palpable.

The true ſcope and ayme of this League, as 'tis declared by our moſt Gracious King in his Proclamation, *forbidding the tendering or taking thereof*; (and we cannot receive it from a better hand) is *in purſuance of a Trayterous deſigne, and endeavour to bring in forreigne forces to invade this Kingdome*; and is therefore by His Majeſtie juſtly ſentenced, notwithſtanding its ſpe-

cious

cious expreſſions of Piety and Religion, to be nothing elſe in truth, but a *trayterous and ſeditious combination againſt Him, and againſt the eſtabliſhed Religion and Lawes of this Kingdome.* And that this is the true ſcope of this League, is further evidenced to weaker eyes (for to thoſe of ſtronger ſight 'tis already eminently viſible) from theſe Confederates owne confeſſions, and from ſome Orders and Ordinances; as alſo from ſome Commiſſions and Inſtructions given to certaine Emiſſaries and Agents in *Scotland*, from thoſe Contracts and Compacts which they have made with ſome of the *Scottiſh* Nation, and from the great ſummes of money which they have ſent into *Scotland* for the *Scots* advance. Some of them alſo boaſting and bragging in their Pulpits and Pamphlets (both of like credit of late) that many thouſands of the *Scots* are already on their march towards us; and all this quickned by the taking this Covenant. And whether ſuch a Conſpiracy or Confederacy as this be not a trayterous and ſeditious combination againſt the Kings Majeſtie, and againſt the eſtabliſhed Religion and Lawes of this Kingdome, I hope (through Gods gracious protection and preſervation of His Majeſtie, and our eſtabliſhed Religion) the Lawes of this Kingdome will e're long determine. In the interim enough is declared in this very League it ſelfe, to confirme every particular mans determination in this point, as ſhall by and by more at large be ſhewen. Onely here ſtand ſtill a while, and admire the prodigiouſneſſe of theſe Monſters. When they have robbed and plundered as many of their Country-men and fellow-brethren as they could ſeiſe on, when they have driven or haled away from their houſes, wives, children, and families, as many as they durſt come neare, and then turned them out after them; When they have ſwallowed up and devoured not onely all the eſtates and livelyhoods of Widowes and Orphans, but all the rents, revenues, proviſions, and maintenance of Churches, Colledges, Hoſpitalls, and Almes-houſes, that they could lay hands on; When they have waſted, ſpoyled, and depopulated all the Cities, Townes, and Villages, that they had the hap to ſet foot in: When they have murdered and butchered as many heroick Peeres, noble Knights, galiant Gentlemen, valiant Souldiers, and other true-hearted Subjects, as their bloud-thirſty ſpirits could wreake their malice on; In a word (if there be any words able to expreſſe their wickedneſſe) when they have attempted and practiſed all the impious, trayterous, hideous, curſed wayes and meanes, that Hell could invent, and Heaven would ſuffer, to bring to ruine and deſtruction as glorious a Church, as flouriſhing a State, and as gracious a King as ever people were bleſſed with; As though all theſe matchleſſe impieties had beene little or nothing, (as indeed they are in reſpect of their ambitious pride, tyrannous hate, and bloudy malice) behold, after all theſe, they labour and endeavour with might

and

and maine to betray and ſell, what God hath hitherto preſerved from their cruell deſtructive hands, into the hands of ſtrangers and forreigners, to devoure and conſume. *Quis hæc poſteris ſic narrare poterit, ut facta non ficta eſſe videantur?* (as that learned Atturny Sir *Edward Coke* brake forth at the arraignment of theſe traytors elder brethren) *who will be able ſo to declare theſe things to poſterity, as that they may be reputed things acted, not feigned?* and who can match them either in fact, or fiction? Is it not judgement ſore enough for every one to eate the fleſh of his owne arme, and to be drunke with his owne bloud; but they muſt call to others to helpe to teare in pieces and devoure? when theſe Conſpirators were hatching this Cockatrice, whoſe fruit is now become a fiery flying ſerpent, one of the terrible things, wherewith they affrighted men out of their loyalty, was a fictitious report, that ſome evill Counſellours about the King had adviſed him to the procuring of ſome forreigne force to ſtrengthen himſelfe. This was charged upon the Lord *Digby* by the Lords and Commons, as malicious Counſell, and ſuſpected to have made too deep impreſſion in his Majeſty; inſomuch that they thus branded it, and repreſented their cenſure of it to his Majeſty in theſe termes. *This forreigne force, as it is the moſt pernicious and malignant deſigne of all the reſt, ſo we hope it is and alwaies ſhall be farthеſt from your Majeſties thoughts, becauſe no man can believe you will give up your people and kingdome to be ſpoyled by ſtrangers, if you did not likewiſe intend to change both your own profeſſion in Religion, & the publick profeſſion of the Kingdome, that ſo you might ſtill be more aſſured of thoſe forreigne States of the Popiſh religion for your future ſupport and defence. Declar: of the Lords and Com: upon his Majeſties meſſage, 2 March* 1642. This pretended feare of forreigne force, and in particular from *Denmarke*, is again inſiſted upon, as adding to the weight of their feares and jealouſies, *In that humble petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to his Majeſty at* Yorke, *March* 26. 1642. And this was alſo alleadged by them as the prime ground of their ſecuring *Hull*, and appointing Sir *John Hotham* Governour thereof, *Declar: concerning the Magazin at* Hull, *May* 4. 1642. ſo often was this falſe feare of forreigne force cryed out upon and throwne in the Kings way, (if not in his face) that good Prince, he was in a manner conſtrained to a ſolemne proteſtation in the *preſence of him, who knowes the moſt ſecret of his intentions and actions, that he was no wayes conſcious to himſelfe of any ſuch guiltineſſe, &c. His Majeſties letter to the Lords of his privy Counſell in* Scotland, *May* 20. 1642. And doe we but obſerve how the caſe is now altered with theſe men? The bringing in of forreigne force, which was then *malicious counſell*, and a moſt *pernicious* and *malignant deſigne*, is now become the re-

ſult

ſult of the great infallible Counſell of the King (as ſome ſtile them) and is ſuch a pious and holy worke, that the moſt Apoſtolicall Preachers of the Goſpell muſt be ſent into forreigne parts to Labour it, whilſt the reſt of the ſacred Conventicle of Divines and their aſſiſtants, are voting, praying, preaching, and ſtanding up for it here at home. It was then reputed ſuch a horrid thing for the King to procure forreigne force, though to ſtrengthen himſelfe, that they, that were moſt jealous of his Majeſty, did conclude, that *no man could believe* (as there was not the leaſt cauſe why they ſhould) *that his Majeſty would give up his people and kingdome to be ſpoyled by ſtrangers, unleſſe he did withall believe, that his Majeſty did intend alſo to change both his owne profeſſion in Religion, and the publique profeſſion of the Kingdome, that ſo he might be the more aſſured of thoſe forreigne States whoſe aide he ſhould crave*; whereas now they would make us all believe, that 'tis ſo godly and neceſſary a thing for them to call in forreigne force, that neither the people of this Kingdome, nor the publique profeſſion of Religion can be preſerved from ruine and deſtruction without it: and yet, by their leave, they have taught us more then to ſuſpect, that they, who out of their ambition and malice will yeeld up this their owne Country and Nation to be ſpoyled by forreigners, will alſo, to maintaine theſe humours, yeeld up both their owne Religion, (that little that remaines) and the publicke Religion of this Nation to be new moulded and ſhaped as theſe forreigners ſhall pleaſe: Then *Hull* muſt in all haſt be ſecured and Sir *John Hotham* made Governour thereof to keep out forreigne force; and now *Hull* muſt be ſtill kept, and Sir *John* himſelfe turned out to let forreigne force in. His Majeſty was then conſtrained through theſe Confederates jealouſies and feares to purge himſelfe by oath from the guilt of intending to bring in Strangers into this kingdome; and now theſe Confederates enter into an Oath themſelves, and compell others to ſweare with them, principally to that intent that Strangers may thereby be invited to come in. But this is no other lunacie then hath conſtantly poſſeſſed theſe Conſpirators. For if you conſult the ſeverall Remonſtrances and Declarations of the grand grievances of this kingdome which have been publiſhed ſince that firſt, *Decemb.* 15. 1641. (pretended to have beene publiſhed for our redreſſe, but intended by the grand Contrivers thereof only as a preparative to our greater miſery, as the ſad ſequele thereof ſhewes) you ſhall ſcarce find a foule crime charged upon the Kings evill Counſellors, which hath not been tranſcendently juſtified by theſe great Counſellors abominable practiſes. As to name ſome of the moſt haynous. 1. *An intention to make way for a Change of Religion.*

2. *The charging of the Kingdome with billetted Souldiers in all parts of it;*

it; and the concomitant deſigne of German horſe that the Land might either ſubmit with feare, or be enforced with rigour to ſuch arbitrary contributions as ſhould be required of them.

3. *The exacting the proportion of 5 Subſidies by Commiſſion of Loane, and the impriſoning divers Gentlemen for not yielding to pay that Loane, whereby many of them contracted ſuch diſeaſes, as coſt them their lives.*

4. *An unjuſt and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject by way of Exciſe.*

5. *The blaſting of the Petition of Right which was granted in full Parliament, by an illegall Declaration.*

6. *The depriving ſome Priſoners of the neceſſary meanes of ſpirituall Conſolation, not ſuffering them to go abroad to enjoy Gods ordinances in Gods houſe, or Gods Miniſters to come to them to adminiſter comfort to them in their private Chambers.*

7. *The not admitting Priſoners to be bayled according to Law.*

8. *The receiving Tonnage and Poundage without pretence of Law, and continuing many other heavy impoſitions againſt Law.*

9. *The obſtructing the ordinary courſe of Iuſtice, the common birthright of the Subject of* England.

10. *The exaction of Coate and Conduct money, and divers other military charges; as alſo the taking away the Armes of the Trained bands of divers Counties.*

11. *The diſplacing of ſome publicke Officers of Iuſtice, for refuſing to doe againſt their Oaths and Conſciences, and awing others that they durſt not doe their duties.*

12. *The forcing new Oaths upon the Subject againſt Law.*

13. *The offering by Orders to bind the Subjects in their Free-holds, Eſtates, Suites, and Actions.*

14. *The Preaching of the moſt publicke and ſolemne Sermons (which ſhould be for the advancement of the Goſpell of Chriſt by preaching faith and repentance, &c.) to advance the Prerogative above the Law; or to decry the Property of the Subject; or elſe they were filled with ſuch kind of invectives, as they thereby made theſe odious, who ſought to maintaine the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of this kingdome.*

15. *The uſing many noble Perſonages as Counſellors onely in name; whilſt the power and authority remained in a few of ſuch as were moſt addicted to the Party; and the others reſolutions and determinations were brought for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation. And no man could offer to oppoſe them of the Party without diſgrace and hazzard to himſelfe: Nay all thoſe that did not wholly concurre and actively contribute to the fur-*

therance

therance of their designes, though otherwise persons of never so great honour and abilities, were so farre from being imployed in any place of trust and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed.

Lastly. *That all possible wayes were taken to put the two Nations* England *and* Scotland *in bloud.* All these grievances, you shall find roared out and aggravated in that first *Remonstrance of the State of the kingdome published, Decemb.* 15. 1641. Which day, for that Remonstrance's take, deserves to be registred in the Annals of this kingdome, as the quickening day of this present unnaturall Warre and bloudy Rebellion. And whether in all these selfe same particulars, we have not already found these Confederates fingers heavier on us, then ever we felt or had cause to feare (at that time especially) that ever we should feele any others loynes, I leave to this gasping State to testifie by her sighs, groanes, and teares; No wonder then, that they, who have made it their constant practise to commit that iniquity themselves with an high hand, which they cry out against in others with a wide mouth, doe now, after so many Declarations of the perniciousnesse of such a fact, make it their owne master-designe, and bind it with an Oath, to bring in Strangers to devoure, what God would not give up as a prey to their owne teeth: But the wonder would be, that those Strangers of all others, who are tempted and solicited by these Conspirators, should so forget their owne Oaths, Vowes, and promises, made to God, their King, and this whole Kingdome, as to joyne with such unnaturall bloud-suckers in a Confederacy so diametrically contrary to them all. *For my part I abhorre to charge that Nation with so much irreligion, treachery, and perfidiousnesse in the least thought, and I am well confirmed in that charitable thought from many good arguments, (besides the *Articles of the late Treaty concerning the establishing of the Peace betwixt the Kings Majesty and the people of* Scotland, *and betwixt the Kingdomes, agreed upon by the Scottish and English Commissioners in the City of* Westminster, *August* 7. 1641. and the Acts of Parliament thereupon made and enacted in both Kingdomes) as to name two for the rest; from a late profession of theirs made about three moneths since to their and our most gracious King, in a Petition of their *Nobility, Gentry, Burroughs, Ministers, and Commons, presented to the Lords of his Majesties privy Counsell, in that Kingdome*: as also from a publicke acknowledge-

This scovery ing rea- for the esse. me con- erable, ne be- re the ors were ady to vance wards ; The uthour aves it the ju-

t them remaine as arguments of our charity, and their hypocrisie and disloyalty.

ment

ment of theirs made to God, and to this whole Nation in a devout ſolemne Prayer ſome yeares ſince. Heare both, and you cannot but be of the like charitable opinion with me: The petition runnes thus, *That whereas the Kings moſt ſacred Majeſty, his royall zeale, and conſtant reſolution of maintaining the true Religion, and preſerving the Lawes and Liberties of theſe his kingdomes is ſo undoubted, that to call it in queſtion after ſo many reiterated profeſſions & aſſeverations emitted in his Majeſties Declarations and Anſwers, with deep atteſtations of the dreadfull ſearcher of the hearts, as witneſſe of the ſincerity of his Royall heart, could not be conſtrued in any but an unchriſtian diſtruſtfulneſſe; and in us his Majeſties Subjects of this his ancient and native kingdome, the height of diſloyalty and ingratitude, if we ſhould harbour any ſcruple or thought to the contrary, having ſo many reall and recent evidences of his Majeſties royall goodneſſe, juſtice, and wiſdome, in ſetling and eſtabliſhing the true Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties of this his kingdome, to the full ſatisfaction of all his good Subjects. And nevertheleſſe, perceiving by his Majeſties Declarations and other printed papers, that foule and malicious aſperſions are caſt upon his Majeſty, tending to brand his ſacred Perſon, and to deprave his Royall Government: And underſtanding by his Majeſties late Letter ſent unto your Lordſhips, That his Majeſty out of his ſingular goodneſſe and deſire to enjoy the hearts of his people of this his native kingdome free of all jealouſies and prejudices, hath been pleaſed to cleare his Royall intentions and actions from thoſe calumnious imputations; And therefore juſtly challengeth from us that humble reſpect due to his ſacred Majeſty by ſo many tyes and titles, and ſo much profeſſed and promiſed by us with ſolemne Oaths in our Nationall Covenant, and Oath at his Majeſties Coronation. We conceive our ſelves bound in duty to God Almighty (by whoſe great name we have ſworne to to defend and maintaine the Perſon, Greatneſſe, and Authority of our dread Soveraigne, Gods Vicegerent, to the utmoſt of our power, with our meanes and lives, in every cauſe which may concerne his honour, as may appeare by that which, by warrant of the Act of the Generall Aſſembly, we have all ſworne and ſigned) and to our King and Country, and to that we owe to our honour and reputation, to repreſent to your Lordſhips the humble deſires we have to expreſſe and make knowne to his Majeſty and all the world, that We are fully ſatisfied and perſwaded of his Majeſties Royall zeale and reſolution, and that malice and detraction cannot prevaile to make the leaſt impreſſion in our loyall hearts of jealouſie or diſtruſt. And therefore we have taken the boldneſſe humbly to petition your Lordſhips for our ſelves, and in the name and behalfe of all others who will adhere to this our petition, That as his Majeſty hath gratiouſly condeſcended in his Letter to your Lordſhips, printed by your warrant, for ſatisfaction of his good Subjects, to expreſſe his royall goodneſſe and deſire that all*

grounds of jealousie or mistaking may be kept and removed out of the hearts of his good Subjects of this kingdome. So it may please your Lordships to thinke upon some course, That his Majesty reciprocally may be cleared and assured of our constant affection and resolution to keep our solemne and nationall Oath; and that we are not so unthankfull to God or to his Vicegerent, nor so little tender of our owne honour and credit as to forget so soone that duty incumbent to us by so many obligations, and so often promised by us in our foresaid solemne Oaths which are published to the view of all the world, &c.

The Prayer is framed in these termes.—— *And seeing that when we by our owne power were altogether unable to have freed our selves from the tyranny of Strangers, and from the bondage and thraldome pretended against us, thou of thine especiall goodnesse didst move the hearts of our neighbours (of whom we had deserved no such favour) to take upon them the common burthen with us, and for our deliverance, not only to spend the lives of many, but also to hazard the estate and tranquillity of their Realme and Common-wealth: Grant unto us O Lord, that with such reverence we may remember thy benefits received, that after this, in our default, we never enter into hostility against the Realme and Nation of* England. *Suffer us never O Lord to fall to that ingratitude and detestable unthankfulnesse, that we shall seeke the destruction and death of those, whom thou hast made instruments to deliver us from the tyranny of mercilesse Strangers. Dissipate thou the Counsells of such as deceitfully travell to stir the hearts of the Inhabitants of either Realme against the other. Let their malicious practises be their owne confusion; and grant thou of thy mercy, that love, concord and tranquillity may continue and increase amongst the Inhabitants of this Isle, even to the coming of the Lord Iesus Christ, &c.*

Now if there be in that Nation either feare of God or faith to men, or love to themselves, (which to doubt of, were to be our selves what we causelesly suspect others to be) here are bonds and tyes enough to keep them from moving either hand or foot against our King or kingdome. But if God, further to scourge both them and us for the abuse of that vowed and long enjoyed peace betwixt us, as well as of a multitude of other blessings bestowed upon us above other Nations, shall give up any of that Nation to such a reprobate mind, and to so strong delusions, as to suffer themselves after all these and such like promises and professions, to be so bewitched with the inchantments and allurements of our English Rebels, as to go with them in the way of *Kain*, and to run greedily after the errour of *Balaam* for reward, and to joyne with them in the gainsaying or Rebellion of *Corah*; let them be assured they shall in conclusion also perish with them, as all other bloudy hypocriticall Rebels and their confederates have ever done. And though they could bring an Army against us, as big as *Sennacherib*

rib once brought againſt *Judah*: yet let but our good *Hezekiah* and his *Judah* humble themſelves before the Lord really and truly (as they already profeſſe to doe) and let us not doubt but that, *Sennacherib* like, *by the way that they come, by the ſame ſhall they returne* (thoſe few that doe returne) *and ſhall not be able to hurt us*; for that *the Lord will ſave us, for his owne ſake*, Eſay. and (if not for his ſervant *Davids* ſake) yet for his ſake, who was of the ſeed of *David*, and ſtill is a ſpeciall Saviour of his annointed and of all thoſe who truſt in him. And therefore let us not feare, neither be faint-hearted for the *two tayles of theſe ſmoaking firebrands*: (as the Prophet *Iſaiah* exhorted the king of *Judah*, when the like Conſpiracy was againſt him, *Iſaiah* 7. 4.) for what the Lord there ſpake of that confederacy, *verſ.* 5, 6, 7. we hope he will fulfill in this. Or if theſe firebrands, through Gods permiſſion and our juſt deſert, ſhall kindle to the waſting and conſuming of this Nation, yet they themſelves can expect but the ſucceſſe of firebrands, to periſh in that conſumption which themſelves cauſe; whilſt divers, on whom their fury and violence ſhall paſſe, ſhall be only purged and refined thereby. Their obſervable imprecation in that Scottiſh prayer but now cited beſpeaks them no leſſe, and if I or any other, were to imprecate any recompence of vengeance upon them, we need wiſh no more. And ſo I have done with the true intended ſcope and aime of this League, ſufficient of it ſelfe to make any man, that feares God or loves his Country, to abhorre both it, and all that have any hand in it.

The forme or manner wherein this League is repreſented to us is the next and fourth particular to be examined. And that is further expreſſed to be, by entering *into a mutuall and ſolemne League and Covenant*, that is, into a confederacy or combination each with other, and *a promiſe, vow, or oath to God*. Into which ſay theſe Confederates) *We have now at laſt (after other meanes of ſupplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, and Sufferings for the preſervation of our ſelves and our Religion from utter ruine and deſtruction) according to the commendable practiſe of theſe kingdomes in former times, and the example of Gods people in other nations, after mature deliberation reſolved and determined to enter, and wherin we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us for himſelfe; with our hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſweare; That we ſhall &c.*

I ſhall, God aſſiſting, inquire into each clauſe of this fourth particular. Firſt, they call it a *mutuall and ſolemne League and Covenant*. The word *League* ſounds *peace*, and they would have the word *Covenant* to be thought to import *piety*; and yet behold *warre* and all manner of *impiety* is in their intentions and practiſes. *The words of their mouths are ſmoother then butter, but warre is in their hearts: their words are ſofter then oyle, yet* Pſal. 55.

are

are they drawne ſwords. They tell us in that ſeditious *Declaration* before cited, called *The Declaration of the Convention of Eſtates of the kingdome of Scotland, &c.* That the entering into this League was thought by thoſe ſeverall Commiſſioners and Committees, that firſt forged it, to be the *beſt meanes for the procuring peace, and all other bleſſings; and that thereupon they ſhould find an anſwer from heaven to all their prayers, a deliverance from all their ſufferings, and the beginning of a new world of joy and peace, &c.* Theſe are tempting allurements to draw people on to joyne with them in the League: but then preſently they aſſure them, That *to their knowledge* (their owne conſciences certifying them how odious an act it will be in the ſight of God and all good men) *upon the ſwearing and ſubſcribing of this League and Covenant by true Chriſtians and Patriots,* (for they muſt all be Canoniſed for ſuch that ſo ſweare and ſubſcribe) *the oppoſite and malignant party will rage and tumultuate more then ever before, and therefore, unleſſe they will then either betray their Religion, Liberties, and Lawes, and all that they and theirs doe poſſeſſe; and ſuffer themſelves to be cut off and maſſacred, by the bloudy and barbarous cruelty of thoſe their inraged enemies, there is a neceſſity of taking Armes for mutuall defence, &c.* A conſtant jugling trick of theirs, learnt of their old maſter the Devill, firſt to perſwade men to joyne with them in ſuch and ſuch attempts, upon faire and ſpecious promiſes of the good ſucceſſe thereof; and then when they have gotten them ſo far, to ſcar them on with feares and threats, as if having done what they did, they were beſt now to go on, and doe what theſe would have them, or elſe they are ſure to be undone for doing ſo much. A wiſe man thus fairely warned will abhorre to enter one ſtep into the paths of ſuch men, *whoſe paths,* like the whores in the *Proverbs, cap. 2. incline unto the dead, ſo that none that go into them* [*will be ſuffered*] *to* [*returne againe, to take hold of the paths of life*: whereas the fooliſh man, like *Solomons* ſimple one, *Proverb. 7.* both yields to the temptation, *and goes on as an oxe goeth to the ſlaughter, or as a foole to the correction of the ſtocks; till a dart ſtrike through his liver; as a bird haſteth to the ſnare and knoweth not that it is for his life.* But not to inſiſt too long upon the title of this *League.* The name *League* was given to it, to entice on the Engliſh Rebels, who loving novelties, and being glutted with *Oaths* and *Covenants,* their great maſters (if they'le owne any) have provided for their palats this new dainty, called a *League*; and had they but called it the *holy Leagne,* as thoſe Rebels in *France* did theirs, they had done as like themſelves for hypocriſie, as they have done like thoſe Rebels for iniquity; And for the name *Covenant,* that was given it to gratifie the *Scotiſh* Faction, who affect the being *Covenanters* (be the Conditions what they will) ſo dearely, That, as thoſe *Declarers* but now mentioned tell us,

no

no ſooner had they the *firſt lineaments of this Covenant read once and againe in their audience, but the fire, which had made them to melt in teares* (you muſt underſtand they were frozen) *at the ſolemnizing of the Nationall Covenant of that kingdome, did begin to burne againe, and bring forth the ſparkles of the like affection.* And this I aſſure you is no leſſe then a miracle, That the ſame fire, which at the firſt burning melted them into water, ſhould at the ſecond kindling bring ſparkles out of them. Our hope is that God will ere long kindle ſuch a third fire amongſt that Faction (not that *Nation*; God forbid) as ſhall againe turne their ſparkes into water. In the interim, let them ſolace themſelves with that of *Iſaiah, cap.* 50. *v.* 11. *Behold all ye that kindle a fire, that compaſſe your ſelves about with ſparkes: walke in the light of your fire, and in the ſparks that ye have kindled. This ſhall ye have of mine hand, ye ſhall lie downe in ſorrow.* Secondly, theſe Confederates ſay, that they have now at the laſt (*after other meanes of Supplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations and ſufferings, &c.*) *reſolved and determined to enter into a mutuall and ſolemne League, &c.* And here I deſire ſome of their Divines Aſſiſtants; who had the chiefe ſtroake in drawing up this League and Covenant to give reſolution to theſe quæres.

1. Quære. How it came to paſſe, that the entring into this *Solemne League and Covenant* was never thought on in this Kingdome ſince the Reformation, no not in all theſe three yeares of the Reformation of that Reformation, till juſt now at the laſt, as they ſay? (and I pray God it be their laſt.) If it be ſuch a neceſſary meanes, as they pretend, for *the advancement of Gods glory, and the Kingdome of Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and happineſſe of the Kings Majeſtie and His Poſterity, and the true publique liberty, ſafety, and peace of three Kingdomes, &c.* Why was it not propounded at the beginning of this endleſſe Parliament to the King and both Houſes, and their conſent humbly craved, and (as the cuſtome was) required? I am ſure *Centurion Burges* was very hot and zealous in preſſing the entring into a Covenant, the very firſt Sermon that was preached at *Margarets* the firſt Faſt day of this Parliament; and by ſome paſſages in it a man might more then ſuſpect, that he aymed at ſuch a Covenant as this. Had Maſter *Marſhall* the other Pulpit-ſhaker of that day beene ſo lucky as to have fallen upon that theame, doubtleſſe his fire and bellowes would have brought forth ſome taking ſparkles of ſuch a Covenant here, as well as they did lately in *Scotland*; but for *Centurion Burges* his fire, it then ſmelt a little too much of the Sanctuary. The truth is, It was then thought a worke worth the labouring in, to get thoſe of the *Scottiſh* Nation out of this Kingdome; and though it coſt us (beſides the care and paines of ſome of the wiſeſt and ableſt in this Kingdome) three hundred thouſand pounds to effect it, ſo great a ſumme

was

was not accounted loſt to purchaſe that freedome: And, whatſoever fancies poſſeſſe ſome men now in their frenzie fit, if God ſhould againe ſtirre up that Northerne Nation, and for our iniquities bring them into theſe Southerne parts; it might happen to coſt this Kingdome as many lives, as it did then pounds, e're they be wholly quit of them. Or ſuppoſe money could againe free us; 'tis likely that they who demanded ſo much to returne, when they came onely to ſerve their owne turnes, will require at leaſt twice as much when they come to ſerve others. You know what *Daniel* prophecied of a Northerne force entring into the Southerne coaſts, *Dan.* 11. *v.* 23, 24. *After the League made with him* (ſaith *Daniel* of the Northerne enemy) *he ſhall worke deceitfully; for he ſhall come up and be ſtrong with a ſmall people. He ſhall enter peaceably upon the fatteſt places of the Province; and he ſhall doe that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers. He ſhall ſcatter among them the prey, & ſpoyle, & riches; yea, & he ſhall forecaſt his devices againſt the ſtrong holds even for a time.* This prophecie hath been once fulfilled already in another Nation; the Lord avert the fulfilling of it a ſecond time in ours. Thus much daily experience telleth us, that men as well as beaſts, comming out of the leane, ſowre parts of the North, into the fat, ſweet parts of the South, are very unwilling, after they have well taſted, to change their paſtures againe.

Quære 2. What Supplications, Remonſtrances, and Proteſtations, have the Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts, in the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, (for unto all theſe rankes and ſorts of men in all three kingdomes doe theſe words; *We, after other meanes of ſupplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, &c.* relate) preſented to the King for the preſervation of themſelves or their Religion, to which his Majeſty hath not returned as gracious an anſwer, as ever Prince gave to people? His Majeſty in his Anſwer to that *Petition of the Lords and Commons*, wherein they complaine of their unhappineſſe in many Petitions and ſupplications, *challengeth envy and malice it ſelfe to object one particular propoſition for the preſervation of Gods true Religion, which he hath refuſed to conſent to.* And for other Petitions and Remonſtrances, although (as his Majeſty in *His anſwer to the Declar: or Remonſtr: of the Lords & Commons of* May 19. 1642. heavily complaineth, (whether juſtly or not, let any that are impartiall judge) they were the moſt of them ſtuft with *reproaches, threats*, and *menaces*, yet they were alwayes anſwered with ſuch mildneſſe, ſuch gentleneſſe, and ſuch ſweetneſſe of ſpirit, without denying ought, which he in honour might grant, or they in reaſon require; that it may well be queſtioned, whether his unparallel'd gracious condeſcention to ſo ſtubborne and ungratefull a

generation,

generation, hath gained him the greater honour, or them the greater ſhame. And Princes in after ages, finding ſo much goodneſſe in a Prince ſo extremely abuſed by his people, will have too much cauſe to doubt, whether he be not rather to be admired, then imitated. For *Proteſtations* I doe not remember that any have beene made by any either of the *Iriſh*, or *Scotiſh* Nation ſince the *pacification*, concerning any ſuch thing as is here pretended: and I cannot yet recall any *Proteſtations*, that have beene made here in *England* by all thoſe perſons, to whom this word *Proteſtations* in this place doth referre. The moſt generall *Proteſtation* was that, which being firſt taken by the *Houſe of Commons*, and then explained, was afterwards by their Order recommended unto, and taken, by the moſt of all ſorts in ſundry Counties, And had they that tooke that *Proteſtation*, beene but as carefull to performe their Vow and promiſe made thereby, as they were forward to make it, we had not felt halfe theſe miſeries, which we have ſince that groaned under; nay, had that *Proteſtation* been but ſeriouſly thought on, when this *League* was either in contriving or taking, it would have made the Contrivers and takers joynts to have looſed, and their knees to have knocked one againſt another, to thinke that they ſhould play faſt and looſe with *Vowes* and *Proteſtations*, and daſh *oath* againſt *oath* ſo as they have done, and now doe.

Quære 3. What or whoſe *ſufferings*, would they have us to underſtand by *ſufferings*? The *ſufferings* of *Ireland* have been ſuch as will make any true Chriſtian heart to bleed at the remembrance of them: but who have beene the greateſt promoters of their *ſufferings* to ſuch extremity, (next to thoſe who have profeſſed themſelves ſuch; (I meane the Iriſh incendiaries themſelves) is now demonſtratively evident by their murmuring, cavilling, and clamouring againſt the ceſſation of their *ſufferings*, though but for a twelve-moneth; notwithſtanding, that theſe abominable hypocrites have pretended almoſt theſe two twelve-moneths a monethly publicke faſting and praying for the ceſſation of thoſe very ſufferings; But whatſoever elſe they diſſemble, they cannot but ſhew themſelves what they are, arrant counterfeits; their very faſting and praying for the deplorable eſtate of *Ireland* having been by them thus long abuſed, as an advantage or opportunity, to make the late happy eſtate of *England* as deplorable as that of *Ireland*: *Irelands* wounds and ſores being by theſe Confederates all this while layed open to us here in *England*, only, as ſome notorious rogues doe the wounds and ſores of poore wretches, to beguile people of their charity, and to cheate them of their money. For the ſufferings of *Scotland*, I referre you to the Articles of the late Treaty agreed upon by his Majeſty and their Commiſſioners, and his Majeſties anſwer thereunto; together with

the publicke Act assented unto by his Majesty for the confirmation of what he had upon that Treaty yielded; as also to the Scots late acknowledgement in their Petition before mentioned; and these records being examined, I dare the most impudent of all this confederacy to name, if he can, any one the least thing, for which that Nation hath any seeming cause to enter into a new League, out of the sense of any *sufferings* unredressed. And for the *sufferings* of *England*; had they joyned the *sufferings* of the *King* with the *sufferings* of *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Ministers of the Gospell, and Commons of all sorts*, they must be acknowledged to have been such (the Lord sanctifie them unto us) as that little more weight can be added to their pressure. But what have these Confederates *suffered*? They have *suffered* more heresies and errors to be broached and professed; they have *suffered* more sects and schismes to be made and fomented, they have *suffered* more slanders and blasphemies to be vented and published, they have *suffered* more robberies, rapines, and riots to be committed and acted, they have *suffered* more murders, treasons, and sacrilegious abominations to be perpetrated and gloried in, then the modesty of the iniquity, cruelty, and impiety of former ages would ever endure: but for other *sufferings*, they have accounted it one of the markes of a *malignant* not to be active in wickednesse, but to choose rather to *suffer*; unlesse it be to *suffer* himselfe to be gulled and fooled as well of his religon, allegiance, and common sense, as of his monies, goods, and what else he calls his.

Quære 4. How came such a fit of ingenuity upon them, as having before pretended the *glory of God*, and *the advancement of the kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happinesse of the Kings Majesty and his Posterity, and the true publicke liberty, safety, and peace of the three kingdomes*, to be the prime, if not the sole ends of their entering into this *solemne League*, now at the last they professe the truth, and fairely and freely acknowledge, that it is for the *preservation of themselves* in the first place, that they resolved and determined thereupon. But I beseech them, whom may they thanke for bringing them into such perill and danger of ruine and destruction, that they are driven to such an ungodly, unchristian, unnaturall course as this for selfe-preservation? The *destruction*, if it doe come, comes from themselves: and this presumed meanes of their preservation, by entering into a League with forreigners to preserve themselves from ruine and destruction, (that is, from the due punishment and vengeance of the sword of justice) if it should thrive and prosper (which the Lord of his mercy prohibite) will be unto them but like the shadow of the *bramble* to the men of *Shechem*; *The fire that came out of that bramble*, within a while devoured more *Shechemites*, then all the other fire kindled amongst

amongſt them. Or like the helpe of the *Aſſyrians* to the men of *Iudah*, 2 *Kings* 16. and *Iſaiah* 8. *Thoſe waters of Aſſyria*, which the men of *Iudah* deſired to helpe quench their fire, the Lord brought upon them with ſuch a force that overflowed their whole land, and ſwept away the greateſt part of the Inhabitants thereof. Howſoever, we cannot but thanke them for letting us know from their owne mouthes, what it is they chiefly labour for in this great worke. We were told by ſome of the principall in this League, in a *Declaration* ſet forth about the time their Generall ſet forth, *That if the People of this Nation would not come in to their helpe, and ſave themſelves, though both They, and the People muſt periſh; yet they had diſcharged their conſcience, and delivered their ſoules, and would looke for their reward in Heaven:* Not a word was then mentioned of ſeeking out for helpe elſewhere; no, they had not had ſo much helpe here at home then, if they had but whiſpered the calling in of ſuch helpe from abroad: beſides, their factious Prophets ſeducing of them, had pawned upon the matter the truth of whatſoever they had preached; nay, their Religion, and that little intereſt that they had in Heaven; that if the people of this Nation would but furniſh their Chiefetaines with ſome few thouſands of men and money, their intended worke would ſpeedily be perfected: and yet to ſee the ill lucke of it, after ten times ſo many men ſlaughtered and butchered, and after twenty times ſo much money exhauſted and conſumed, (let the reward in Heaven be looked for by them that have any hopes thereof, and let the aſſurances of their Prophets be relyed upon by them that will credit them) they are now reſolved to ſeeke the *preſervation of themſelves from ruine and deſtruction*, by any meanes they can lay hold on, though it be with endangering the *ruine* and *deſtruction* of all three Kingdomes: how happy had it beene both to thoſe men and to theſe Kingdomes, if the people had forſaken them, and God had taken them, juſt at that time, when they were ſo bravely reſolved, and had diſcharged their conſciences, and delivered their ſoules ſo fully and fairely, that they could thinke there was a reward layed up in Heaven for them. I am affraid they have loſt ſuch an opportunity, and theſe Kingdomes thereby ſuch a mercy, as they will not find againe in haſt. Oh but they have joyned with their owne *preſervation* the *preſervation* of *Religion*, and can any blame them what courſe ſoever they take for the preſervation of that? For anſwer to this I muſt propound another *Quære*.

Quære 5. What is their *Religion*, for the *preſervation* whereof they muſt now reſolve to enter into a *League* with Forreiners?

If their *Religion* be the true reformed *Proteſtant Religion*, as it is eſtabliſhed here in the Church of *England*; praiſed be our gracious God, and for

ever blessed be our religious King for it, that *Religion* is in no danger of ruine and destruction at this time in this Kingdome, more then is common to the true *Religion* at all times whersoever it is professed, unlesse it be by these Confederates: and within a few lines after they themselves doe acknowledge as much; for, whatsoever they adventure to say in this preamble to their oath, yet when they come to sweare, they sweare the *preservation of the reformed Religion in the Church of* Scotland, and onely *the reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland: which argues plainly, that their owne consciences, as wasted as they are, doe yet assure them, that the true *Religion* established in the Kingdome of *England*, needs onely some further reforming, but is in no perill of being ruined and destroyed; for surely if it had, they would have sworne to preserve it, as well as to reforme it. And if there be any feare of the ruine and destruction of the reformed Religion, 'tis onely in *Scotland*; for 'tis onely in that Church, that they sweare to preserve it: But blessed be God, neither is the reformed *Religion* in that Church in any visible hazard, how much soever it be secretly undermined by Schismaticks and Heretiques, that have crept in amongst them since the late alteration of that Church Government. So that if these Confederates *Religion* be in such danger of *utter ruine and destruction* as they pretend, they must give us leave to inferre, that either their *Religion* is not the true reformed *Religion*, as 'tis established here in this Kingdome, and then they must excuse us, if we abhorre to enter into a *Leagne* with them, or any others to preserve it; or if it be, they know of some strange, close, concealed plot or designe against it, which themselves onely are privy to; and then they should doe well to tell us what it is, that so we may judge, whether that, or their owne designe against it, be the more dangerous. And yet then I must tell them, whatsoever the plot or designe be, the true reformed *Protestant Religion* teacheth us, not to seeke it's preservation by any unjust or irreligious meanes or way; and in particular, not by entring into any *League* or *Covenant*, without the consent of him, whom God hath constituted the *supreame* Moderator and Governour in all *Causes Ecclesiasticall as well as Temporall*, much lesse contrary to His Command: but above all, not by taking up Armes against Him, or against any of His Subjects, without Authority derived from him. All which is professed and maintained most stoutly and learnedly by the whole streame of Protestant Writers, both of our owne and other reformed Churches, in the Controversies betwixt them and the Church of *Rome*; as also by sundry Tractates, published since this unhappy Controversie amongst our selves. I presume that these Confederates, as brazen browed as they are, will acknowledge that the true *Protestant Religion* was at first planted

ted in this Kingdome (as true Religion hath constantly beene every where else) in a most peaceable way, free from tumults and sedition: and although it were afterwards watered with bloud, yet it was with the bloud of meeke, patient, loyall sufferers, who next to their refusing to doe ought, contrary to Gods command, though enjoyned by their Soveraigne, esteemed it their greatest glory to submit to their Soveraignes commands by suffering cheerefully for what they could not doe lawfully; and not with the bloud of proud, Pharisaicall, furious, rebellious Conspirators, that despise Dominion, and speake evill of Dignities, not caring what bloud they spend either of their owne, or others; so that they may but spill more of theirs that oppose them. Take but one instance for many, and that worthy of your observing, *viz.* those famous Protestant Sufferers in Queene *Maries* dayes, who seeing the true reformed Religion ready to be extirpated almost before it had taken root in this Nation, and perceiving, as it seemes, (or at least their enemies having raised some such jealousie) that some were inclining to seeke the preservation thereof by way of force, in a seditious, rebellious manner, against the authority and command of the Queene: (those of the reformed Religion being then of as great, if not greater power, then we hope these Confederates are) twelve of the most eminent among them for piety and learning, agreed to the publishing of a Declaration of their faith and Doctrine, wherein, amongst other particulars, they at large, and with much earnestnesse of spirit, shewed their detestation of any such inclination; you may finde the Declaration, *Act. Monum. p.* 1470. and in that these very words. *To seale up the same* (speaking of their faith) *we are ready through Gods helpe and grace, to give our lives to the halter, or fire, or otherwise as God shall appoint, humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching all that feare God, to behave themselves as obedient Subjects to the Queenes Highnesse, and the superiour powers which are ordained of God under Her; and rather after our example to give their heads to the blocke, then in any part to rebell, or once to mutter against the Lords Annointed: we meane our Soveraigne Lady Queene* Mary, *into whose heart we beseech the Lord of his mercy plentifully to powre the wisedome and grace of his Holy Spirit, &c.* Againe, towards the end of that Declaration, you shall finde these words. *In the meane season, as obedient Subjects we shall behave our selves towards all that be in Authority; and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would governe them all generally and particularly with the spirit of wisedome and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to doe, in no point consenting to any kinde of Rebellion or Sedition against our Soveraigne Lady the Queenes Highnesse, but where they cannot obey but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility*

to ſuffer as the will and pleaſure of the higher Powers ſhall adjudge; as we are ready, through the goodneſſe of the Lord to ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall adjudge us unto, rather then we will conſent to any Doctrine contrary to this which we here confeſſe. This Declaration was ſubſcribed by

Doctor Robert Ferrar, *Biſhop of Saint* Davids, *the ſecond Biſhop in that Catalogue of Chriſtian Martyrs*, burnt at *Caermarthen*.

Doctor Rowland Taylor *Parſon of Hadley in* Suffolke, burnt at *Hadley*.

John Philpot *Archdeacon*, burnt in *Smithfield*.

John Bradford, burnt in *Smithfield*.

John Cooper *Biſhop of* Worceſter *and* Glouceſter, burnt at *Glouceſter*.

Doctor Edward Crome, Priſoner in the *Fleet*.

John Rogers *Prebend of* Pauls *Lond: the Protomartyr or firſt Martyr that ſuffered in Queene* Maries *dayes*; burnt in *Smithfield*.

Laurence Saunders, Edmund Laurence, J. P. *and* T. M. } burnt at *Coventry*.

Miles Coverdale *Biſhop of* Exeter, *preſerved from the fire by the earneſt ſuite of the King of* Danemarke.

And had our *Zealots* and *Patriots*, as they ſtile themſelves, beene either of the Spirit, or the Religion of thoſe glorious witneſſes that ſubſcribed this Declaration; they would have abhorred to have publiſhed ſuch Declarations as they have formerly publiſhed, much more to have ſubſcribed ſuch a League as they have now ſubſcribed. But we may remember what the Prophet *Zephaniah* minds us of, *cap.* 3. 5. *The unjuſt knoweth no ſhame.* And therefore, notwithſtanding that theſe Confederates doe in all their courſes, eſpecially in their entering into this League and Covenant, run contrary to the Examples and Doctrine of all the moſt pious and religious Proteſtants, that either this Church of ours, or any other of the Reformed Churches have beene honoured with; yet they bluſh not to affirme, That they have in this act done according to the *commendable practiſe of theſe Kingdomes in former times, and the example of Gods people in other Nations*: So that I ſhould wrong both them and their Cauſe, if I ſhould not provoke them to name ſome ſuch *practiſe* or *example*; Wherefore my next *Quære* is,

QUÆRE 6. What one *commendable practiſe of theſe Kingdomes of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; or what one *example* of Gods people in *other Nations*, can you inſtance in, when ever ſuch a League and Covenant as this was entered into or attempted?

If your great πολυμαθὴς ἀμαθὴς Maſter *Pryn* be put to anſwer this *Quære*, we ſhall have a volume of Inſtances preſently cited, and the Margines ſtuffed with Authors, whereof he never read page, more then their *Indices*: but

what

what inſtances ſhall they be? why ſuch as he produceth for the juſtifying of the proceedings of the Parliament; practiſes and examples of the worſt of times, and moſt wicked of men; which, if not tranſcended now, he reputes ſufficient warrant for whatſoever is done; as if not to be as rebellious, and impious as the worſt, were in them to be as loyall and religious as the beſt. And for ſuch *commendable practiſes* and *godly examples*, I care not much, if I, to ſave him the labour, furniſh you with one or two in our owne Kingdome, and as many in Forreine; which, you may very well be thought to have made your Patternes. The firſt *commendable practiſe* and *godly example*, which you ſeeme to imitate in this buſineſſe, may be that *Confederacy* which many ſeditious *Earles* and *Barons*, together with divers of the *Clergy* and the *Citie of London*, entered into againſt *Hen.* 3. when at a Parliament holden at *Oxford*, thoſe *Earles* and *Barons*, with the reſt of their *Confederacy*, propounded (as *Speed* out of other Hiſtorians relates it) *ſundry trayterous Articles to the King*, to which they required his aſſent, and then tooke a ſolemne Oath; *That neither for life, nor death, nor love, nor hate, they would be drawne to relent in their purpoſe, till they had cleared* England (*in which themſelves and their fore-fathers were borne*) *from Upſtarts and Aliens, and had procured laudable Statutes.* But beſides all this, (ſaith *Matthew Weſtminſter*) theſe turbulent *Nobles* had a further plot; which was, *That foure and twenty Perſons ſhould there be choſen to have the whole Adminiſtration of the King and State, and the yearely appointment of all great Officers, reſerving to the King the higheſt place at Meetings, and Salutations of Honour in publique places.* I choſe to inſtance in this League the rather, for that I finde the ſeditious rebellious practiſes of thoſe times, urged by Maſter *Pryn*, for the vindicating the ſhameleſſe inſolencies, and treacherous conſpiracies of theſe. Another *commendable practiſe* and *godly example*, which theſe Confederates may be conjectured to have propounded to themſelves, is likely to be that rebellious Confederacy in the North, in the reigne of *Hen.* 8. of forty thouſand *Ruſticks*, countenanced and encouraged by divers of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Clergy*, called by thoſe Rebels the *Holy Pilgrimage*, for that it was pretended for the *preſervation of Religion*, and *defence of Holy Churches*: for the better colouring whereof, their Banners were painted with the five wounds of our Lord, and upon their ſleeves were writ the Name of the Lord. The prime Conſpirators publiſhed a Declaration of the cauſes and grounds of their riſing and aſſociating themſelves in that manner, as alſo of their intents and aimes; which although it be recorded in an old Northerne Dialect, yet it ſuites ſo well with the new Southerne Language of the times, that I could not forbeare tranſcribing a great part of it word for word; *Lords, Knights, Maſters, Kinſmen,*

Kinſmen, and Friends, we perceive, &c. And further to aſcertaine you of the cauſe of our ſaid Aſſemble and Pilgrimage, is this, That forſomuch that ſuch ſimple and evill-diſpoſed perſons being of the Kings Counſell, hath notoriouſly incenſed His Grace with many things, which be contrary to the faith of God, honour of the Kings Majeſtie, and the Common-wealth of this Realme; and thereby hath deſtroyed and yet utterly intendeth to deſtroy the Church of England, *and the Miniſters of the ſame as ye know ſo well as we: but alſo the ſaid Councell hath robbed and ſpoyled, and further intendeth utterly to rob and ſpoyle the whole body of the Kings Realme, &c. For this Pilgrimage we have taken hyt for the preſervation of Chriſts Church, of this Realme of* England, *the King our Soveraigne Lord, the Nobility, Barony, and Commons of the ſame; and to the intent to make Petition to the Kings Highneſſe for reformation of that which is amiſſe within this his Realme: and for puniſhment of Heretiques, and ſubverters of Lawes, and neither for money, malice, nor diſpleaſure to any perſon, but ſuch as be not worthy to remaine neare the King our Soveraigne Lords Perſon. And further we know if ye ſhould obtaine, as we truſt in God ye ſhall not, then ye put both us and you, your heires and ours in bondage for ever: and further ye are ſure of the interdiction of Chriſts curſe, and we cleare and out of the ſame; and if we overcome you, ye ſhall be at our wills, &c.* This *Declaration* they ſeconded with another of the like nature: and the better to draw on the rude multitude, forward enough of themſelves in any tumultuous and ſeditious enterpriſe, they ſet forth in writing certaine ſlanderous untruths againſt the King: and to tye the people faſt, when they had gotten hold of them; as alſo to caſt the more ſpecious luſtre to dazle the eyes of others, they framed an *Oath* or *Covenant* in theſe termes. *Ye ſhall not enter into this our Pilgrimage of grace for the Commonwealth, but onely for the love that you doe beare unto Almighty God, his faith, and to the holy Church Militant, the maintenance thereof to the preſervation of the Kings Perſon, His Iſſue, to the purifying of the Nobilty, and to expulſe all villaine bloud, and evill Councellors againſt the Common wealth, from His Grace and the Privy Counſell of the ſame; and that ye ſhall not enter into our ſaid Pilgrimage for no particular profit to your ſelfe, nor to doe no diſpleaſure to no privy perſon, but by Councell for the Common-wealth, nor ſlay, nor murder for no envy; but in your hearts put away all feare and dread, and take afore you the Croſſe of Chriſt, and in your hearts his faith, the reſtitution of the Church, the ſuppreſſion of theſe Hereticks, and their opinions, by all the whole contents of this booke.* Theſe two *commendable practiſes of this Kingdome* I am forced to grant you, they being of ſo neare reſemblance, as will convince any man, that they were the very foule Copies which you have printed by: onely there were *Biſhops* in both theſe Conſpiracies; which

which had there beene in this, it might have chanced to have saved their order from vowed extirpation. Yeilding you therefore these two; I look out further to see what *Gods people* (as you for your owne credit stile them) have for your example acted in Forreigne Nations: and casting an eye upon the Historie of *Germany*, I finde there a most rare president of a *League* so like to this of yours, that he that observes both cannot but judge them the sweet Babies of one father: *viz.* The *Confederacy* of the *Anabaptists*, Anno 1525. when (to use *Sleidans* owne words, *lib.* 4. *Comment.*) *through* Suevia, *and that part of* Germany *which lyeth neare to* Danubius, *there arose a second storme of the common sort of people against some of their Ecclesiasticall Governours.* At which time they entred into an *Association* with an *Oath* and *Covenant*, pretending principally these two causes; *That they would defend the Doctrine of the Gospell, and free themselves from servitude.* And to that purpose they agreed upon twelve Articles or Demands (our Confederates have reduced their Articles to halfe that number, but what they come short in number, they make up in weight and measure.) The first whereof was (as *Sleidan* records them, *lib.* 5. *Comment.*) *That they would choose the Ministers of the Church, which should preach the Word of God purely without any mixture of humane Ordinances.* The second, *That they would pay no Tithes, except of Corne, and those to be distributed, as good men should thinke fit; partly to the Ministers of the Church, partly to the poore, and partly to publique uses.* The rest of their Articles were about *Liberties* and *Priviledges*, *Taxes* and *Mulcts*, and other matters of the Common-wealth. At first, they published their Demands with some moderation, professing that *if they erred or were mistaken, they would not be obstinate.* But afterwards they betooke them to their Armes in very great numbers, and with most bloudy resolutions, insomuch that in *Suevia* and *Franconia* no lesse then 40 *thousands* of them were up in Armes at one time; and there they destroyed a great part of the *Nobility*, tooke and *fired many Forts and Castles*, and made a miserable spoyle where e're they came; so that in one Summer there were slaine (as the same Historian relates) in the judgement of those that judged least *fifty thousand* in that Warre. And of all these Commotions, and bloud-shed, some outragious Preachers were the chiefe occasion; the principall whereof was *Thomas Muncer*, who began at first to teach not onely against the *Bishop of* Rome, *but also against* Luther, *saying, that both their Doctrines were vitious and impure, that* Luther *indeed had loosed the bonds of* Rome, *but did offend on the contrary by indulging too much; and did not deliver those things which were of the Spirit.* By these and some such like Doctrines, *pleasing to the peoples palats, he and some other seditious*

Bloud-thirſty Preachers (they are *Sleidans* owne words) ſeduced multitudes to joyne with them: and finding themſelves to be of ſome ſtrength, then they declared, that their ayme was *to kill wicked Princes*, that other *new Rulers and Magiſtrates might be placed in their roomes*. I dare not trace that *Anabaptiſticall* Confederacie, or the Contrivers of it any further, for feare of treading upon ſome bodies heeles, that will ſcarce forbeare kicking: but if any would heare more of them, let them read on the Story in the Author before named, from whom I have borrowed thus much of it, and when they have runne it through, they will goe nigh to doubt, whether that learned Hiſtoriographer did not a while play the Prophetick Poet, and write *Englands* Tragicall Confederacy, onely laying the Scene in *Germany*. One *example* more and then, I thinke I have ſo fitted your *League*, that all your Divines Aſſiſtants can ſcarce match it better. The *example* which I intend you, is one of the prime examples, by all circumſtances, which your ſelves intended, when you were pleaſed to ſtoope ſo low as to alleadge *example* for what ye had reſolved on, namely that League in *France*, which for the pretended ſanctity and holineſſe of the Confederates aymes and ends, had the hap to anticipate that name, which otherwiſe queſtionleſſe this Confederacy of yours had gloried in, *The Holy League*. That *League* was firſt hatcht (as *John de Serres* in his *Generall Hiſtory of France* reports) in an *Aſſembly*, that thought themſelves almoſt as holy, as learned, as wiſe, and as legally called, as our new *Aſſembly*, the *Councell of Trent*: but I take it now from that conception, delivery, and growth which it had in *Paris*, the Metropolis of *France*, in *Henry* the thirds raigne, and about the yeare of our Lord 1584. Where, when the Conſpirators had blowne up the fire of ſedition ſo high, that the people began to *talke contemptibly of the King, diſgraceing Him in all companies*, ſome few of the Arch-Leaguers, whereof the moſt were of the *Clergy* of *Paris*, prevailed with ſome of the chiefe *Citizens, to erect a petty Councell, who tooke the charge of the ſixteene quarters of the Citie and Suburbs to practiſe all they could upon the people, and to entertaine them with diſcourſes grounded upon the malice of the time, full of Schiſme, Hereſie, and Tyranny. This petty Councell brought their deliberations and projects to the Grand Councell, which conſiſted of Doctors, Curates, Preachers, and other men of marke. Then having made a great brother-hood, and finding themſelves ſtrong, they advertiſe the Duke of the affection of the good Catholikes of* Paris, *and their zeale to the preſervation of Religion and the rooting out the contrary, and the ruine of Tyranny. Then conferres with the brother-hood, and they enter into a mutuall Oath: and then the moſt factions are ſent to the Townes and Provinces of the Realme with good inſtructions, to joyne new Confederates to their body, under a pretence to*

fight

ſight againſt Hereſie and Tyranny. Then, ſaith the ſame Hiſtorian, (to whoſe words I have and ſhall keepe as cloſe as poſſibly I can) *Then might we have ſeene the chiefe Pillars overthrowne that ſupport a Prince, love and authority; and hatred and contempt to ſupply their places. The Preachers publiquely in all places termed the King a Tyrant, and favourer of Heretickes. The people did applaud them, and from this deadly hatred, which they had conceived againſt the King, his Councell, and Favourites, ſprung that fury which was ſoone after diſperſed over the whole body of* France. *The chiefe of the League give out, that the King meanes to arme, and to employ the King of* Navarres *Forces againſt them. They ſeeke to prevent him, and to that intent they ſend forth many Commiſſions; and leaſt any ſhould controule them they cloake them with the Kings name: which they maintaine themſelves to be allowed to doe, it being done for His Majeſties ſervice. The King diſavowes them, and forbids all levies of men of Warre. To juſtifie themſelves and their riſing, they publiſh certaine motives, as, That there are Forreigne Forces to enter into* France *ſpeedily. That there is great abuſe in proviſion of Offices, in the leavies of money, and in the invention of exceſſive Impoſts. That the Minions of the Court, abuſing the Kings name and bounty, keepe the Princes and Noblemen that are truly Catholike from all acceſſe to His Majeſtie. That they brave the Nobility, diſpoſe of Governments in favour of their followers, waſt the treaſure, oppreſſe the people, and reſtraine the liberty of Juſtice, and ruine the Clergy, &c.* Then they declare, *That theſe juſt motions and the ſuddenneſſe of the miſchiefe had thruſt them into Armes; the ſmall credit they had with the King affording them no other meanes to let him underſtand their complaints.* And in the end they *proteſt, That their taking Armes was onely to reſtore the Church of God to her true and ancient dignity, under the exerciſe of one Religion throughout the Realme and Common-wealth; To reſtore the Nobility to their honour and freedome; To eaſe the people of extraordinary charges, invented ſince the reigne of* Charles *the ninth, and not to employ the money leavyed thereby, but for the Kings ſervice; To require the King to chaſe from Court ſuch as abuſed his favour and authority, &c.* All this they backe with a *Proteſtation, and vow not to lay downe armes untill their Propoſition be fully executed; and that His Majeſtie had prevented the danger, the feare whereof made them to take Armes. Theſe falſe impulſions wonderfully inceuſed the people: but when as they talked to them of complotments againſt their Religion, as to chaſe away both Maſſe and Prieſt out of that Kingdome, they tooke the words of thoſe paſſionate men that told them ſo for Oracles of truth: And then they preſſe to enter into the League, ſuch as demanded nothing but Change, Bankrupts, Men indebted, Malefactors, wicked and notorious Perſons. The King in the meane time made no Warre but by*

writing, thinking by milde and gentle termes to pacifie them that ſpeake too proudly, &c. I would willingly goe on with the reſemblance, but that methinkes I heare ſome of our *Tribunes* interrupting me, as thoſe Lawyers did our *Saviour*, when he bent his ſpeech againſt the *Scribes*, *Phariſees*, and *Hypocrites*, Luke 11. 48. *Thus ſaying, thou reproacheſt us alſo.* And yet that cavill had not ſtopt my pen, as it did not then my bleſſed Saviours mouth; had I not beene confident that that which is tranſcribed, is enough to render viſible to every eye, that never was egge laid more like to egge, or bird hatcht more like to bird, then *Englands Solemne League* to *France's Holy League.* Theſe are the foure Chariot wheeles whereon you have mounted this *Solemne League*, which you drive on thus furiouſly. And where ſuch *commendable practiſes* at home, and ſuch *laudable examples of Gods people* abroad are the wheeles, your owne rebellious luſts the horſes, and ſelfe-will the Charioteer, to hurry on your deſigne, it muſt needs be thought, that you *reſolved* upon it *after mature deliberation.* But becauſe I would not have you to exceed the moſt wicked, by *flattering your ſelves in your owne eyes*, not onely *untill*, but *after your abhominable iniquity is found out*; I hereby provoke all your *Marſhalls, Whites, Nies, Palmer-wormes, Bridges, pendent, dependent, or independent*, to name one tolerable *practiſe* of any of theſe *three Kingdomes*, (much leſſe can they ſhew any of all three, as this hypocriticall introduction boldly aſſerts) or any one *example of Gods people in any other Nation* whatſoever, that ever attempted the like *League* or *Covenant*; and when I ſee that made good, if I doe not ſoberly and fairely give my reaſons to the contrary, I ſhall be willing (which as yet I tremble to thinke on) to reſigne up all the reaſon I have to their will, and ſubſcribe to this *League* with them. In the meane while I earneſtly beſeech all thoſe that doe lift up their hands (as they in their new abuſe of an old honourable Ceremony expreſſe themſelves) to the moſt high God, and ſweare to this *League*, that they would indeed conſider that that God moſt high, to whom they lift up their hands and ſweare, is ſuch a God as throughly knowes both what their hands and hearts are; what hypocriſie there is in theſe, what wickedneſſe in thoſe, what bloud in both. And therefore, whatſoever they pretend for their taking this Solemne League and Covenant, and with what ſanctity or ſolemnity ſoever they deſire to diſguiſe it. Let them remember what the Prophet *Iſaiah* once told the like Conſpirators (if there ever were the like) *cap. 59. verſ. 5,6,7,8. They hatch Cockatrice egges, and weave the Spiders web: he that eateth of their egges dyeth, and that which is cruſhed breaketh out into a Viper. Their webs ſhall not become garments, neither ſhall they cover themſelves with their workes: their workes are workes of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their feet runne to evill,*

and

and they make haſt to ſhed innocent blond: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; waſting and deſtruction are in their paths: The way of peace they know not, and there is no judgement in their goings: they have made them crooked paths, whoſoever goeth therein ſhall not know peace. I might go on with the *Prophet*, but that I have undertaken only the *diſcovery of theſe Conſpirators iniquity and hypocriſie*, not the deſcription of our owne ſufferings and miſery. And to perfect that I come at laſt to the laſt particular. *The matter of the League*, or *the League it ſelfe*.

This *League* is compounded of ſix Articles. A well choſen number for thoſe ſix bloudy Articles ſake, ſet on foot in *Henry* the eighth his dayes, and revived in Queen *Maries*. only, they were ſuppoſed to have been framed by one *Stephen, a Biſhop*; theſe by one *Stephen, a Presbyter*, men otherwiſe of like fiery ſpirits and foule bulkes; they had the conſent both of the King and the two Houſes of Parliament, theſe neither of *King* nor *Parliament*, but of Houſes three or foure at leaſt; they coſt the lives of many hundreds in a few yeares, theſe are like to coſt (if the Contrivers thereof and their Confederates proſper) the lives of more thouſands within as few moneths.

I ſhall examine each Article by it ſelfe, and all of them by the ſame rule by which the laſt impious *Covenant* was examined and found to be moſt impious; namely, that rule which *Ieremiah* preſcribes as the rule of all Oaths and Covenants *cap.* 4. *verſ.* 2. *Thou ſhalt ſweare, the Lord liveth, in Truth, in Iudgement, and in Righteouſneſſe.*

According to which preſcribed limits of a lawfull Oath, I begin with the examination of the firſt Article.

ARTICLE I.

QUÆRE 1.] How can we ſweare in truth, *ſincerely and really to endeavour the preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government*: When, 1. Not one of a thouſand, nay of ten thouſand, knowes what the *Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government of the Church of Scotland is*. 2. Such is the *Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government of the Church of Scotland*, that if the moſt zealouſly affected to this Covenant did but ſeriouſly conſider ſome particulars, that this generall Bond ties them unto; they would be as unwilling to take it themſelves, as they are unconſcionable in forcing others to take it: there being divers things in the *Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government of the Church of Scotland*, which are as contrary to the fancies and fantaſticall opinions of theſe Humoriſts, as what they moſt diſtaſt in the *Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government of the Church of England*.

QUÆRE 2.] How can any, either they of *Scotland* or we of *England*, sweare in judgement and righteousnesse *to indeavour to preserve the Discipline, Worship, and Government of the Church of Scotland* (which must needs be understood according to the present Orders and Forms, and other Rites and Ceremonies now established in that Church) when the Church of *Scotland* her selfe in her publique *Confession, Artic.* 26. acknowledgeth, that they doe not thinke, *That the said Government in all things, or the same Order in every Ceremony or Right, can be constituted for all Ages, for all times, and for all places: but that they may be changed, &c.* Besides, if we regard the true proper ends of *Discipline* and *Government* in a Church, which are the correcting and suppressing of Vice, and the incouraging of Vertue, the avoyding confusion, and the preserving of decency and order; we doe not see any such extraordinary happy fruits of the present *Discipline* and *Government* of that Church, that should invite us to sweare the perpetuity of it. For your satisfaction herein, inquire into the lives and manners, the fidelity, piety, chastity, and civility of that Nation.

QUÆRE 3.] What if the King, Parliament, and Assembly of *Scotland*, should thinke fit to alter any thing in the *Worship, Discipline, and Government* of that Church, (as formerly they have, and may againe, by their owne confession, most justly, if there be cause?) are not all that take this Covenant bound, (so farre as an unlawfull Oath can bind) to indeavour the contrary? and what mischiefe may this produce to both Kingdomes?

QUÆRE 4.] In what truth or equity can we, either of this Nation or that, sweare to indeavour the *preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worship, &c.* and at the same time, with the same breath, sweare to indeavour the *Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of England and Ireland*, when we acknowledge in the Introduction to this Oath, that the *Reformed Religion* in all the three Kingdomes, is *one* and the *same*, whereas if it be one and the same, certainly, if it require *Reformation* in the one Kingdome, it must needs require it in the other.

QUÆRE 5.] In what judgement or righteousnesse can we, that professe our selves to be of the Religion established in the Church of *England*, sweare the indeavouring *the Reformation thereof in Doctrine*, when so to sweare presupposeth and implyeth some notorious, palpable, knowne errours and corruptions in that Doctrine, which need Reformation? Whereas the *Doctrine* of the Church of *England*, hath beene so established and approved by the Lawes of this Kingdome, and by the Synods, Convocations and Assemblies of the Reverend, Learned and Religious Divines of this Kingdome from time to time, and hath beene subscribed unto, and

that

that *ex animo*, (as every one hath profeſſed) to be agreable to the word of *God*, by all that have taken upon them any cure of ſoules or entred into ſacred Orders, as alſo, hath beene propugned and maintained, by the moſt eminently Learned, and devoutly Religious Divines, that have lived ſince the Reformation againſt all Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and all other oppoſers and impugners whatſoever, even to the ſealing of that truth, which they have defended, with the loſſe of their bloud. Againe, what an infamous brand of Levity, inconſtancy, and infidelity, will this be to all our Clergy eſpecially, who have againe and againe ſubſcribed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, to be agreeable to the Word of God, now to ſubſcribe that it is ſuch Doctrine as is not agreeable to that Word, but needs Reformation to make it ſo? And what a wound will this be to all thoſe mens conſciences, that tooke the laſt Proteſtation, (if their conſciences be capable of wounding) that they ſhould now ſweare to Reforme that Doctrine, which they then ſware to maintaine and defend? Laſtly, To ſweare us to indeavour a *Reformation* of our *Religion in Doctrine*, and not to name any one point, wherein our *Doctrine* needs *Reformation*, ſavours ſo ſtrongly of the Leaven of *Romes Doctrine* of implicite Faith, and blind obedience, (the greateſt Tyranny over mens conſciences, that I know that Church guilty of) that all that are true Proteſtants, cannot but abhorre it.

QUÆRE 6.] What doe they meane by the *Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of* England, *&c. in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government?* For the laſt of the foure, *viz.* the *Reformation* of the *Government* of the *Church* of *England* and *Ireland*, they have in the next Article fully declared what they intend thereby; Namely, the *Extirpation* thereof. And therefore the *Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government of the Church*, being all joyntly ſworne to be Reformed, we have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that they intend joyntly to extirpate them all.

QUÆRE 7.] We would faine know, if we had once ſworne (as too many have) to Reforme our Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, in *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* before we have any other *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* agreed upon, and ſetled amongſt us, what Anſwer could we make to any that ſhould aske us of what Religion we are? If we ſhould ſay, we are of the Proteſtant Religion, or of the Reformed Religion, or the like, they would demand of us further, where ſhall we read, or how otherwiſe ſhall we come to know, what Doctrine, or what Worſhip of God, what Diſcipline, or what Government in Gods Church, ye profeſſe and hold to? and what could we returne to this? If we ſhould ſay, that we profeſſe and adhere to that *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* which is eſtabliſhed in the Church

of

of *England*. In this, our preſent Oath would confute us: For that we have thereby diſclaimed that *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* as being ſuch, as we will no longer profeſſe and ſubmit unto, but will indeavour to Reforme. If we ſhould name any other particular Church, and ſay that we are of the Reformed Religion of *Scotland, Geneva, Belgia, Helvetia, &c.* In that alſo would this preſent Oath witneſſe againſt us: For that we ſweare onely to reforme our Religion in *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* as it is eſtabliſhed in our owne Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, but doe not profeſſe to conforme in *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* to any other particular Church whatſoever: Beſides, if we had named any particular Church, to whom we would conforme in *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* Our Oath is but promiſſary, and ſo would declare but what Religion we reſolve to be of for the future, not what we are of for the preſent.

QUÆRE 8.] Whereas we are to ſweare to indeavour a *Reformation of Religion, in the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, &c. according to the Word of God, and the examples of the beſt reformed Churches.* We deſire firſt to know, who ſhall judge, what is according to the Word of God; and what is not: If it be left to every particular mans judgement, that taketh this Covenant, we conceive, the Anabaptiſt will judge his Religion to be according to the Word of God, the Browniſt his, the Papiſt his, and we hope, that we, of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, ſhall be able, beyond and againſt them all, to maintaine ours to be ſo indeed: And what a pretty Reformation then ſhall we all indeavour, ſeverall men indeavouring ſeverall Reformations, contrary to each other? If we muſt in this caſe ſubmit to the judgement of others, we would willingly know, before we ſweare ſo to ſubmit, who they are at leaſt, to whoſe judgements we muſt ſubmit, if not the particulars wherein. Secondly, we would willingly know, which are the beſt Reformed Churches, whoſe examples we muſt ſweare to imitate, and who ſhall determine them ſo to be. If they would have us to underſtand by the beſt Reformed Churches, the Church of *Scotland*, and the Church of *Geneva*: We cannot but wonder, why they are not named, unleſſe it be (as doubtleſſe it is) to make this Covenant to be ſwallowed the glibber, by leaving the intended Reformation to be ſworne unto in ſuch a latitude, that every one may hope, that that Reformed Church, to whoſe *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* he moſt inclines, will be reputed one of the beſt. Whereas, if they had named any Reformed Churches, multitudes might have thought the *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* of other Reformed Churches to be better, and ſo have refuſed to ſweare to reforme according to the examples of thoſe *Churches*, which they had named. And ſeeing they have named

no

no Churches, but leave us to ſweare to reforme according to the examples of the beſt Reformed Churches; our conſciences telling us, that our owne Church of *England*, as it is reformed and eſtabliſhed, is already ſo well reformed, both in *Doctrine, Worſhip, &c.* as no Reformed Church in the World is better, (as we are able and ready to make good againſt all gainſayers) we cannot but apprehend it an inſufferable impoſition upon our conſciences, to require us to ſweare to reforme that in our Church according to the example of the beſt Reformed Churches, which we are aſſured upon good grounds is already ſo reformed, as may well be an example for all other Reformed Churches to imitate. Thirdly, we, that know the Poſitions and Maximes of the chiefe Contrivers of this League, cannot but wonder, how they forget themſelves ſo much; as, having named the Word of God, as the rule of their intended Reformation, not to ſtop there, but to joyne therewith, the examples of the beſt Reformed Churches; they diſclaiming nothing more, then the following of any example, either in *Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline*, or *Government of the Church*, further then what is found expreſly in Gods Word: All examples and practiſes beſides, being (as they phraſe them) but humane inventions, and not to be admitted, much leſſe imitated in Gods Church.

QUÆRE 9.] In what equity can either we of this Kingdome ſweare to *indeavour the preſervation of the Doctrine, Worſhip, &c. of the Church of Scotland*, or they of the Kingdome of *Scotland* ſweare to *indeavour the Reformation of the Doctrine, Worſhip, &c. of the Church of England*: When we ought not to intrude or intermeddle with the common affaires, much leſſe the Eccleſiaſticall of their Kingdome, nor they with the affaires of ours, unleſſe the King and Parliaments of both doe firſt conſent and call us thereunto? And to ſweare thus to intrude and intermeddle without that full conſent and calling, is, as much as in us lyeth, to bind over both Kingdomes to the embroyling themſelves in Warres and tumultuous inſurrections upon every ſmall occaſion; as, upon the obſerving or not obſerving ſuch and ſuch formes of *Worſhip, Diſcipline*, and *Government*, ſuch and ſuch Orders and Rites, or whatſoever any conſiderable party in either Kingdome ſhall adjudge fit to be preſerved in one Kingdome, or reformed in the other.

QUÆRE 10.] How can we ſweare in judgement and righteouſneſſe, *That we ſhall indeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the neareſt conjunction and uniformity in Religion, confeſſion of Faith, forme of Church-Government, Directory for Worſhip and Catechiſing*: When as firſt we cannot underſtand the termes of this part of this Article, ſo as to make ſenſe of them. Secondly, ſo farre as we doe underſtand their ſenſe,

they appeare to us void of all reaſon, as I ſhall preſently demonſtrate, beginning firſt with the non-ſenſe of theſe terms. Firſt, what is meant by the *deareſt Conjunction in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, &c.* or how ſhall we know, when the Churches in the three Kingdomes are the neareſt conjoyned, that ſo we may know, when our promiſe will be at an end, or whether it muſt not be an everlaſting promiſe. Secondly, what is the *neareſt uniformity*, and how comes *uniformity* to be capable of diverſity of degrees, when things that differ more or leſſe in forme, cannot be truly ſaid to be of one forme. Thirdly, what doe they meane by *Directory for Worſhip, &c.* Doe they intend thereby ſome eſtabliſhed ſet rule for publique Prayer, adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Gods Worſhip and Service? believe me, then they did wiſely in expreſſing their meaning in ſuch an unwonted phraſe, for otherwiſe their Covenant, for this very clauſe ſake, would never have been indured by thouſands, that were moſt greedy in ſwallowing it. And here I cannot but ſmile to thinke, how hard the contrivers of this ſolemne League were put to it to find a Title for their new intended forme of Worſhip: They durſt not for their eares, thoſe that had any, call it a ſet forme of Service or publique Prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacraments: That had come too neare the Title of the Engliſh Common-Prayer Booke, and rather then they will make uſe of that Proteſtant Title, or come neare it, they choſe rather to borrow a compleate Popiſh Title, from *Parſons*, or *Radford*, or *Peter Camus*, or ſome other of that Romiſh Rabble, (for I cannot recall any other that ever uſed that Title but them) and call it a *Directory for Worſhip, &c.* But how yet to make ſenſe of bringing the *Churches of God, &c. to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Directory for Worſhip, &c.* is paſt my skill. And ſo much for the non-ſenſe of theſe words, a little of their non-equity. What an unjuſt and unreaſonable thing it is, for us of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, or thoſe of the Church of *Scotland*, to ſweare that we will *indeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes, to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, forme of Church-Government, &c.* When the Church of *Scotland* hath a good while ſince amongſt themſelves, ſolemnly Covenanted, and ſworne in their *Covenant, ſubſcribed at* Edenborough, *Anno Dom.* 1581. *That they will perſever in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of their Church, and that they will according to their calling and power defend the ſame all the dayes of their life, under paine of all the Curſes in the Law, and upon the hazard of body and ſoule in the day of the dreadfull Judgement.* So that to make good this part of this preſent League, of bringing the *Churches of God in all three Kingdomes to a nearer conjunction and uniformity in confeſſion of Faith, and Diſcipline*, then they

are

are already in, either they of the Church of *Scotland* muſt recede from their former Vow and Covenant in altering their Doctrine and Diſcipline, to bring it nearer to ours of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, or elſe we of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, muſt wholly yeeld up and ſubmit our Doctrine & Diſcipline to be altered according to theirs of the Church of *Scotland*, both which ſeeme very unjuſt and unreaſonable, eſpecially without any neceſſary and indiſpenſible cauſe ſhewed why either ſhould be done: for why may not the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes, ſtill retaine their ſeverall diſtinct confeſſions of Faith, and formes of Worſhip, &c. which they have ever retained ſince their ſeverall Reformations to this preſent, and that not with a few or ſmall bleſſings from God attending them, as others of his approving the ſame? why ſhould we ſweare to rob our Churches of ſuch juſtifiable and honourable liberty, which God hath ever indulged his Churches in ſeverall Kingdomes? Or if we muſt have but one *Confeſſion of Faith*, and *Forme of Worſhip &c.* in all three Kingdomes, why ſhould not ours of the Church of *England*, be thought as worthy, to be that one, as theirs of the Church of *Scotland*? Ours had the honour to be publiſhed to the World and approved by other Reformed Churches, divers yeares before theirs ſaw light, and hath, ſince the publication of both, had the approbation of more learned and religious men by farre then ever theirs had.

ARTICLE II.

QUÆRE 1.] What is to be underſtood by *endeavouring the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy without reſpect of perſons*? Muſt there be no reſpect or regard had to any perſons whatſoever that are either Papiſts or Prelaticall! muſt they be all rooted out, that will not renounce their Popery and their Prelacy? muſt they be all alike dealt with? have they all offended alike? examine them and their actions throughly, and then judge whether this Oath be juſt or not? And, if all Papiſts be rooted out of theſe three Kingdomes, without reſpect had to any, what ſhall become of the Proteſtants in *France* and other Kingdomes? 'tis worth the conſidering, for other Kingdomes can extirpate as well as we.

QUÆRE 2.] Whether doe theſe termes *without reſpect of perſons*, referre onely to *Popery* and *Prelacy*, or to all the reſt mentioned with them, *viz. Hereſie, Superſtition, Schiſme, &c*? if to the former onely, the partiality is too palpable, if to the latter alſo, let theſe Covenanters looke to themſelves, they being ſo truly guilty, multitudes of them, of the moſt abominable of all theſe crimes here ſpecified.

QUÆRE 3.] With what colourable pretence either of judgement

or righteouſneſſe can we of this Kingdome ſweare to root out *Prelacy, that is Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c.* When

Firſt, the Church of God was governed by Biſhops in the Apoſtles time, and *Timothy* and *Titus* by name, were Biſhops; as alſo the ſeven Angels of the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*, (unto whom Saint *John* in his Revelation was commanded to write) were ſo many individuall Biſhops or Prelates in theſe Churches.

Secondly, immediatly after the Apoſtles time, all the Chriſtian Churches univerſally maintained Epiſcopall jurisdiction, and ſo from time to time have generally done ever ſince. And the moſt ancient Fathers in the Primitive times, held Epiſcopacy to be of Apoſtolicall Inſtitution and Divine Right.

Thirdly, never any before *Aerius* did condemne Epiſcopacy, as in it ſelfe unlawfull, nor yet did ever any after him, till ſome few in this latter Age, and both *Aerius* and his fellowes have for that Doctrine been condemned from time to time, by the moſt famous Divines of the Reformed Churches, as well as by others of other Churches.

Fourthly, all the Proteſtant Churches of former times, and the moſt renowned Divines in thoſe Churches, have both juſtified the Government of the Church by Biſhops to be lawfull, and have deſired to be governed by that Government, rather then by any, diſclaiming their fury and madneſſe, that have declaimed againſt it. And the farre greater part of the Reformed Churches are to this day governed by Biſhops, or by Superintendents, which are equivalent to Biſhops at leaſt, are a Prelacy above Preſbyters.

Fifthly, Biſhops, number for number, have done and ſuffred more for the maintainance and defence of the truth, againſt Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and other enemies thereof, then any one Order of men in the World: I might go higher and ſay, then all the Orders of men beſides. I except from this compariſon only Chriſtian Emperours, Kings, and Soveraigne Princes.

Sixthly, for the Government of this Church in particular: It is acknowledged by Mr. *Fox Act. Mon. Tom.* 1. *p.* 146. that in *Eleutherius* his time, *Anno Dom.* 180. when this Realme was firſt converted to Chriſtianity; there were appointed in the ſame, 3 Arch-Biſhops, and 28 Biſhops. And ſince that time the Government of this Church by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. hath been further eſtabliſhed by *Magna Charta*, which hath been above thirty times confirmed by Parliament, and by the Statute called *Confirmatio Chartarum*, ſtill in force, it was ordained, that all the Lawes contrary to that Charter ſhould be void: and that the Biſhops twice every

yeare,

yeare, ſhould excommunicate all that did either doe or adviſe contrary to it. Beſides, if it be well examined, it will appeare that Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops had the greateſt hand of any Subjects in the procuring both the granting and the confirmation of that Charter, now the Subjects chiefe Birth-right.

Seventhly, the Government of this Church by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. is ſo interwoven with the Lawes of this Land, that if that Government ſhould be extirpated, the whole frame of the Lawes muſt be new moulded, and that is no ſmall perill to a State.

Eighthly, the Kings Majeſty (as is acknowledged by himſelfe in his Anſwer to the third Remonſtrance of the Lords and Commons, *May* 26. 1642.) did at his Coronation moſt ſolemnly ſweare, to *keep and confirme*, to the Clergy by name, *thoſe Lawes, Cuſtomes and Franchiſes, granted unto them by the glorious King* Edward, *according to the Lawes of God, &c.* and *to preſerve and maintaine to the Biſhops in particular, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all Canonicall priviledges, and due Law and Juſtice*, and *that he would be their Protector and Defender to his power, by the aſſiſtance of God, as every King in his Kingdome ought in right to defend the Biſhops and Churches under their Government.* And as his Majeſty then ſware to maintaine and confirme the Government of this Church by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. ſo had he from his childhood been inſtructed by his Royall Father, concerning the excellency of that Government, and its ſweet conſiſtency with Monarchy, beyond all other Church-Government whatſoever, and hath ſince ſeen enough by the happineſſe of former times, and the miſeries of the preſent to indeare it to him, and to all his loyall Subjects for ever. With what conſcience then, can we, that are his Majeſties Subjects, ſweare to extirpate that Government, which his Majeſty hath ſo ſolemnly ſworne to maintaine and confirme, and is perſwaded in his conſcience, ſoundly informed, that it is the beſt worthy of maintenance and defence, of any Government whatſoever? what were this but to ſweare our ſelves into a perpetuall Rebellion againſt our Soveraigne? and not onely to deny him that Supremacy and Allegiance, which we have ſworne to him; but to indeavour to compell him to renounce his protection and defence of his peoples Lawes and Rights, which he hath ſworne to them, together with his owne Judgement and Conſcience, perſwading him to the contrary.

Ninthly, as his Majeſty hath ſworne expreſly to maintaine and defend the Government of the Church by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. ſo have we his Subjects implicitly ſworne the ſame, as many of us, as have taken the Oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance, and the late Proteſtation. For firſt,

His Majeſty having ſworne ſo ſolemnly to maintaine and preſerve the preſent Government of the Church by Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, &c. if any contempts or conſpiracies ſhould (as now there are) be made againſt it; and now reſolving and indeavouring to make good that his Oath; we are bound by our Oath of Allegiance to maintaine and defend his Majeſty to the utmoſt of our power, in his indeavouring to make good that his Oath of maintaining and preſerving that Government of the Church, and the rights and priviledges of thoſe Governours, againſt all thoſe conſpiracies and attempts. Secondly, we having ſworne in our Oath of Supremacy, That the Kings Highneſſe is the onely Supreme of this Realme, as well in Spirituall and Eccleſiaſticall things and cauſes, as Temporall; and that we ſhall to our power aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdiction, Priviledge, Preheminence, and Authority, granted or belonging to the Kings Highneſſe, &c. The government of the Church by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. being ſuch an Eccleſiaſticall thing and cauſe, as that, next to the Doctrine of the Church, there is not any Eccleſiaſticall thing or cauſe of nearer concernment to the King and whole Kingdome, and the Regulating or ordering thereof, belonging to his Juriſdiction, Priviledge, Preheminence, and Authority, we are obliged by that Oath, not onely to acknowledge his Majeſty to be the Supreme Governour in that thing and cauſe, but alſo to our power aſſiſt and defend that Juriſdiction, Priviledge, Preheminence, and Authority: and not to aſſay or indeavour ought concerning the altering, much leſſe the rooting out that Government, without his conſent and approbation. Laſtly, we having ſwore in our late Proteſtation, to maintaine and defend the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt Popery, and one Article of that Doctrine, which the Papiſts mainly oppoſe, *viz.* Article 36. together with ſeverall other parts thereof, approving and juſtifying the Government of this Church by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. It muſt be granted, that we are by that Oath bound ſo farre to maintaine and defend that Government, as to approve and juſtifie the lawfulneſſe thereof, both in its ſelfe, and in its conſtitution here amongſt us. Beſides we ſweare expreſly in the ſame Proteſtation, to maintaine and defend the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every perſon that made that Proteſtation, &c. And therefore in that reſpect, untill we are convinced, either that Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. are no Subjects, or that their right of governing this Church, is not lawfull; we are bound by that branch of that Oath, not onely, not to indeavour the extirpation of the Government of the Church by them, but to the utmoſt of our power, to maintaine and defend them in that their right of Government, and every perſon that tooke that Proteſtation, in whatſoever he hath ſince done, or ſhall hereafter doe, in the maintenance and defence thereof.

Tenthly,

Tenthly, to ſweare in judgement and righteouſneſſe, the extirpation of Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. requires in all thoſe that take that Oath, certaine knowledge, that Epiſcopacy is either evill in it ſelfe, or at leaſt ſo the cauſe of evill, as cannot otherwiſe be prevented, and of ſo much evill, as cannot be borne, without apparent diſhonour to God, and detriment to this Church and State. To affirme the former, that *Prelacy, or Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c.* is in it ſelfe evill, (as this Article moſt blaſphemouſly ſeems to import, by ranking it amongſt the worſt of evils, *viz. Popery, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſme, &c.*) is not only to fall into the long ſince condemned Hereſie of *Aerius*, but further to expoſe our Church it ſelfe, and all the profeſſed Members thereof, to ſcorne and contempt. For if *Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c.* be in it ſelfe unlawfull, then the exerciſe of that Government, as the Ordination of Prieſts and Deacons, and the admiſſion of them to Paſtorall charges, by Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, &c. is unlawfull, and by conſequence the preaching of the Word, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, by thoſe Prieſts and Deacons ſo ordained and authorized, is alſo unlawfull. And who then of this Church can truly call himſelfe either a beleever or a Chriſtian? or who can blame either Papiſts, Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, or any other, for denying the Church of *England* to be a true Church? If they ſhall ſay, that although the *Government of the Church by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c.* be not evill in it ſelfe, yet it is, notoriouſly evill in reſpect of the inavoidable & inſufferable miſchiefe, which it cauſeth both to the Church and State wherein it is eſtabliſhed. I humbly and earneſtly beſeech them (as many as have not already plunged their ſouls in that gulfe) but to abſtaine from taking this Oath ſo long, as till the greateſt Enemies to Epiſcopacy can give one inſtance towards the demonſtrating the truth of that Aſſertion, and their owne ſouls ſhall bleſſe them for that abſtinence, whenſoever they ſhall recover out of their preſent Lethargie. But ſuppoſe ſome Biſhops ſhould have done more miſchiefe to this Church and State, then any dare undertake to anſwer for, or themſelves can make amends for, what is that to the reſt of that ſacred Order, who have done the Church more ſervice then any that have lived within the pale of it, theſe many yeares, and are ſtill ready and willing to doe more? Or what if all the Biſhops had done as much miſchiefe to this Church and State, as the Contrivers and complotters of this League have done, who have brought both very neare to utter ruine and deſtruction? muſt therefore the Government it ſelfe be extirpated? you would not like that argument well, if it ſhould be brought home to your owne doores, yee, that are Judges, Pleaders or Counſellors, would judge and plead and counſell

to

to the contrary: ye, that are Burgeſſes, would vote to the contrary: ye, that are Preachers or Teachers, would preach and teach to the contrary: and ye, that are of any Profeſſion, would profeſſe to the contrary: were the caſe yours.

Laſtly, to wrap up five or ſix Arguments in one: before we ſweare the extirpation of *Church-Government by Arch Biſhops, Biſhops, &c.* It would beſeem us to conſider, beſides what we have been already put in mind of, theſe particulars. 1. What ſhall be done with all their Rents and Revenues, to which they and their ſucceſſours have as good and juſt right, as any Subjects have to whatſoever they call theirs? If they muſt be alienated to the uſe of ſome others, how ſhall thoſe many heavy Anathema's, and terrible Curſes, laid upon the Alienators thereof, by the Donors and others, be avoided? 2. Whether divers Families of this Kingdome have not already ſmarted ſufficiently for leſſe ſacriledges? 3. What incouragements will there be left to perſwade any of good birth, parts and abilities, to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of Divinity; when every other profeſſion, from the nobleſt to the baſeſt, ſhall have honourable preferment and advancement for thoſe that are diligent and laborious therein, only they, which rule the Church of God well, and labour in the word and Doctrine (whom God himſelfe declares to be worthy of double honour or double maintenance, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17) ſhall have all hopes and poſſibility of honour and honourable maintenance taken from them: ſo that every noble, free-borne, well-bred, ingenuous Son, ſhall ſay to his Parents, rather make me a Taylor, a Button-maker, a Cooper, or a Cobler, then a Divine? 4. Whether our adverſaries the Papiſts will not by this meanes ſoone find farre fewer abler to incounter with them, and farre more ready and willing to enter combate for them, they having ſo great rewards for their Champions, and we ſo little for ours? If good livings with cures of Souls be thought incouragement ample enough; it were good to conſider, 5. What honourable or comfortable ſupport or ſalarie thoſe worthy men ſhall have, whom God ſhall hereafter indow, either with the gift of Tongues, or the interpretation thereof, or with the gift of wiſdome and knowledge in the great controverſies and myſteries of Religion, and yet have not the gift of preaching or propheſying, and ſo are not ſo fit for Paſtorall charges or Cures as ſome others, otherwiſe farre inferiour to them? 6. How ſhall they whom God requires to be given to Hoſpitality, above other men, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. be able to ſhew themſelves Hoſpitable at all, when all meanes of Hoſpitality ſhall be denied them? In a word, and that ſuch as may perhaps be better liſtned unto by ſome, then all that hath been ſpoken: What will become of thoſe many Tenants, and their Children and Families, who in this Kingdome

Kingdome have, and doe, and ſtill may (if this Government be not extirpated) enjoy ſo much benefit and profit by their Leaſes from *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, &c.* hitherto accounted by their owne acknowledgement, as good Tenures, as the moſt in this Kingdome? What I ſay, within a while, will become of them and theirs? when they ſhall be compelled to turne Tenants to thoſe Land-Lords, whoſe cruell exactions in raiſing their Rents above what *Archbiſhops, Biſhops*, and other Church-Governours have required, the experience of ſome former alienations to ſuch, do abundantly witneſſe: they muſt not then expect, what divers of them are now ſcarce content with, that their Land-Lords will take one yeares Rent, and give them the profit of almoſt ſeaven?

But what doe I ſpeak of Tenants alone? Let it be ſeriouſly conſidered, how many other ingenuous men ſerviceable to God, to the King, and to the whole Kingdome, have beene bred, brought up, and maintained by the revenues of the Church-Governours: I verily believe, farre more in one age, then all the ages to come will ever ſee bred, brought up, and maintained by thoſe revenues, if they ſhould (which God of his mercy diſappoint) once come to be eſtated upon others. Let alſo the many poore, that have beene relieved thereby, be a little thought on. And let it not be forgotten what iſſues out thence yearely in Firſt-fruits, Tenths, and Subſidies, towards the neceſſary and royall ſupport of the Crowne it ſelfe; which otherwiſe muſt, and would be raiſed out of the revenues of other men, in ſome manner and meaſure farre more burdenſome unto them. Put all theſe together, and you will finde, that the demeſnes of our Church-Government doe not deſerve that envie which ſome malicious ſacrilegious Conſpirators carry towards it: neither doe our Church-Governours reape to themſelves out of their owne demeſnes a fifth part of ſo much profit and emolument as others gaine by them. I would have ſcorned to have named this as any piece of an Argument in this holy Cauſe, did I not too well know that it is the demeſnes of the Church chiefly that makes ſo many to quarrell at the Government of it: and if the revenues of the Church were wholly in their hands, ſo that the *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, Archdeacons, &c.* had nothing but what they would allow them, they would not much grudge to allow them all their Degrees, Titles, and Offices.

I might propound ſundry other *Quares* concerning this ſecond *Article*, worthy of ſome ſatisfaction, e're we ſweare to obſerve it, as theſe amongſt the reſt. Whether the accounting ſome things to be ſuperſtitious which are not, and the ſtanding upon them as things unlawfull, which are in themſelves indifferent, preferring therein their owne fancies and conceits, before others reaſon and judgement, every way ſuperiour to them, be not ſuperſti-

tion? Whether Anabaptiſme, Millenariſme, Browniſme, or Antinomianiſme, be not Hereſie? Whether ſeparating from communicating with our publique Congregations in the Word and Sacraments, renting and dividing the Peace and Unity of our Church, be not Schiſme? Whether ſleighting, contemning, and reproaching the publike Worſhip and Service of God, ſeconded with robbing, defiling, and defaceing the places conſecrated to that Worſhip and Service, be not prophaneneſſe? Whether ſwearing and lying, killing and ſtealing, oppreſſing and tyrannizing, ſlandering Gods Annointed, and rebelling againſt him, be not contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the power of Godlineſſe? And if ſo, whether theſe Covenanters will take it patiently, if we endeavour to our utmoſt to extirpate all theſe? Laſtly, whether we, that are true Proteſtants, and loyall Subjects, are not bound in conſcience both to abhorre this hypocriticall League and Covenant, which pretends the extirpation of theſe abhominations, when it intends their maintenance and defence; and to give the beſt aſſiſtance that we are able to our moſt gracious Soveraigne, who endeavours the extirpation of theſe abhominations, though he require or pretend no entring into any League or Covenant for the execution of that royall and religious reſolution? But I intend onely a *Compendium*, and therefore am content to paſſe by all theſe with naming them onely, and am content to bury many more in ſilence.

ARTICLE III.

QUÆRE 1.] In what judgement or equity can any require us to ſweare to *indeavour to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament, with the ſame ſyncerity, reality, and conſtancy*, wherewith we ſweare to *indeavour the preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of* Scotland, *and the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland, *and the extirpation of Popery, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſme, &c.* adding one clauſe of ingagement not expreſſed before: *viz. with our eſtates and lives?* Are the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of Kingdomes, of equall, or rather, of more worth and concernment, then either the preſervation of Religion in the one Kingdome, or the Reformation of Religion in the other two, or the extirpation of Popery, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſme, Prophaneneſſe, &c. out of all three; that we muſt ſweare to preſerve them, with the ſame ſyncerity, reality, and conſtancy, that we ſweare to doe all theſe; and then further to adde, the adventuring of our eſtates and lives upon their preſervation? Let others account of this, as they pleaſe: for my part, I ſhould ſuſpect that mans love to Religion and Piety, that thinks leſſe of ſuch an Oath, then a moſt unworthy unchriſtian abaſing of Religion and Piety, and a ſordid heatheniſh idolizing of our ſelves and our owne intereſts. Caſt an eye, I beſeech ye, upon the Petitions, Declarations, Remonſtrances, Meſſages,

Meſſages, Votes, &c. of the Lords and Commons this preſent Parliament, and ſee what Rights and Priviledges of Parliament are claimed and contended for by them with no ſmall earneſtneſſe: and then tell me ingenuouſly (if there be any ingenuity in you) whether the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament do deſerve to have their preſervation ſworne to be indeavoured with as much ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy, as we will endeavour the preſervation of Religion in *Scotland*, the reformation of Religion in *England* and *Ireland*, and the extirpation of thoſe fore-named abhominations out of all three Kingdomes.

Suffer me to hint you with ſome of them: As, 1. *That it is their undoubted right, That the King ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation and debate in either Houſes of Parliament*, [no though it be againſt the eſtabliſhed Religion, or the Kings owne Perſon, Crowne and Dignity,] *Petit. Lor. & Com. Decemb.* 14. 1641. 2. *That the King ought not to propound any Condition, Proviſion, or Limitation to any Bill or Act in debate or preparation, in either Houſes of Parliament*, [though it might expedite the buſineſſe never ſo much, and eaſe the Houſes of never ſo great labour, and the Kingdome of no ſmall charge] *or to manifeſt or declare His conſent, or diſſent, approbation, or diſlike of the ſame, before it be preſented to His Majeſtie in due courſe of Parliament*, Ibid. 3. *That every particular member of either Houſe hath free liberty of ſpeech to propound or debate any matter, according to the order and courſe of Parliament*, Ibid. 4. *That the King ought not to conceive diſpleaſure* [no not in his heart, though he never declare it,] *againſt any man, for ſuch Opinions and Propoſitions as ſhall be delivered in any Debate in either Houſe*, [though they be as deſperate as *Ludlowes*, or *Martins*, or any other whereof we have lately heard] *but that it belongs to the ſeverall Houſes reſpectively, to judge and determine ſuch errours and offences in words or actions committed by any of the Members in the handling or debating any matters depending*, Ibid. 5. *That for the King to preſſe the Houſe of Commons to yeild a ſupply for maintenance of Warre* [even when a Forraigne Nation is invading this,] *before they have provided any reliefe for the great and preſſing grievances of the people, is againſt the fundamentall Priviledges of Parliament.* Remonſt. of the State of the Kingdome, Decemb. 5. 1641. 6. *The abundance of Protections which hinder both Juſtice and Trade, acknowledged by the Parliament to be a Parliament Priviledge, and a great burden to the Kingdome, ſuch as they intended to give eaſe therein, whatſoever might ſtand with Honour and Juſtice.* [but have never yet made good that intention.] Ibid. 7. *For His Majeſtie to iſſue out Warrants to ſeale up the Studies and Chambers of Members of the Houſe* [though in caſe of Treaſon] *a breach of Priviledge.* Declar. Com. touching

ate breach of Priviledge. 8. *For His Majeſtie to iſſue out Warrants to apprehend any Member of the Houſe*, [though a Traytor] *a breach of Priviledge of Parliament*, Ibid. 9. *For His Majeſtie to come to the Houſe of Commons in His Royall Perſon attended with a Guard* [though ſmaller then hath often attended His Majeſtie at other times] *a breach of Priviledge of Parliament*, Ibid. 10. *For His Majeſtie to place himſelfe in the Speakers Chaire in the Houſe of Commons, and there to demand of the Houſe, that the perſons of ſome Members of that Houſe be delivered unto Him* [to be proceeded againſt for High-Treaſon] *an high breach of Priviledge of Parliament*, Ibid. 11. *For His Majeſtie* [after ſeverall Tumults raiſed in *London* and *Weſtminſter*] *to ſay, that he wiſht His reſidence neare the Parliament might be ſafe and honourable, that ſo he had no cauſe to abſent Himſelfe from* White-Hall, *the greateſt breach of the Priviledge of Parliament that can be offered*, Declar. Lor. & Com. March 2. 1641. 12. *To intercept* [though upon Command from His Majeſtie] *any Letters whatſoever, ſent by any to or from the Parliament; or to intercept any meſſenger imployed from any in the Parliaments Service, to the Parliament, an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament*, Declar. Lor. & Com. March 26. 1642. 13. *For the King to declare a Member of the Houſe of Commons to be a Traytor*, [though one that the Statute-Lawes of the Land declare ſo to be, as in the caſe of Sir *John Hotham*] *an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament*, Reſolv. upon the Queſt. April 28. 1642. 14. *For His Majeſtie to call any Subject to attend His Perſon, which is imployed by both Houſes to attend their Service without their conſent, againſt the Priviledge of Parliament*, Votes concerning Major *Skippon*, May 17. 1642. 15. *That the Houſes have an abſolute power of declaring Law; and that whatſoever they declare to be ſo, ought not to be queſtioned by the King, or any Subject*, [ſo that all the ſafety and right of King and Subject, muſt depend upon their pleaſure] Remonſt. or Declar. of Lor. & Com. May 26. 1642. 16. *That no preſidents can be limits to bound the two Houſes in their proceedings*; [ſo that they may doe what they pleaſe] Ibid. 17. *That the Parliament may diſpoſe of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right, for the publike good; and that the two Houſes without the King are ſuch a Parliament, and Judge of the publike good, and that the Kings conſent is not neceſſary* [ſo that the lives of the King and People, and all the Lawes by which they are ſecured, may be diſpoſed of at their pleaſure, and neither King nor people have any meanes to protect or defend either] Ibid. 18. *That the Soveraigne Power remaines in the two Houſes, and the King hath no negative voyce*, Ibid. 19. *That Treaſon cannot be committed againſt the Kings Perſon, otherwiſe then as he is intruſted with the Kingdome, and diſcharging that truſt: and that the two Houſes have power to*

judge

judge whether he discharged that trust, or no, Ibid. 20. *That if the Parliament should make the higheſt preſidents* [ſome whereof have proceeded ſo high as to depoſe their King] *their paternes, there would be no cauſe to complaine of want of modeſty or duty in them*, Ibid. And tell me now, with what judgement or righteouſneſſe we can ſweare to preſerve and defend theſe Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and that with the ſame reality, ſincerity and conſtancy, that we ſweare to indeavour the preſervation of Religion in *Scotland*, the reformation of Religion in *England* and *Ireland*, and the extirpation of Popery, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſme, &c. in all three Kingdomes. Sweare but to defend and preſerve theſe Priviledges, nay, but five or ſix of them, and they may well, and (no doubt) will excuſe you from ſwearing ought elſe. For if theſe ſhould be yeilded to be their Rights, it muſt alſo be yeilded, that they can doe no wrong either to King or Subject, whatſoever they ſhould doe: or whatſoever the King or his Subjects ſhould ſuffer from them, there would be no meanes left to relieve them, no, nor cauſe of complaining, either of their ſufferings, or of thoſe that ſhould be moſt active in contriving them.

QUÆRE 2.] What are the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, or how, or where can we poſſibly come to the knowledge of them? that ſo we may know whether they be ſuch as ought to be performed or not?

QUÆRE 3.] In what judgement or righteouſneſſe can either we of *England* and *Ireland* ſweare to *preſerve and defend the Priviledges of the Parliament of Scotland*, or they of *Scotland* ſweare to *preſerve and defend the Priviledges of Parliaments of* England *and* Ireland, when we have nothing to doe with their Priviledges, nor they with ours? The like may be ſaid of the Liberties of all three Kingdomes. And this may be further added concerning the Liberties of the Kingdomes: That certainly there is ſome contrariety or repugnancie betwixt the Liberties of *England* and *Ireland*, and the liberties of *Scotland*; or elſe why were the *Scots* ſo cautious and ſolicitous in their Articles of peace betwixt the Kings Majeſtie and them, and betwixt the two Kingdomes, (*Anno* 1641.) as to demand, *That the Scottiſhmen within His Majeſties Dominions of* England *and* Ireland *might be freed from cenſure for ſubſcribing to their Scottiſh Covenant, and that they might be no more preſſed with Oaths and Subſcriptions unwarranted by their Lawes, and contrary to their Nationall Oath and Covenant approved by His Majeſtie*, when neither any cenſure had paſſed upon them for their ſubſcribing to that Covenant, nor any Oath or Subſcription had beene required of them, but ſuch as was agreeable to the eſtabliſhed Lawes of *England* and *Ireland*. It appeares by this, (and His Majeſties Grant to that demand further cleares it) That ſome things warranted by the Lawes of

England and *Ireland* are quite contrary to the Lawes of *Scotland*? and in particular, that ſome Oaths and Subſcriptions, eſtabliſhed by the Lawes of *England*, are contrary to the very Nationall Oath and Covenant, approved by His Majeſtie in *Scotland*: and in what righteouſneſſe then can we in *England* and *Ireland* ſweare to preſerve the Liberties of *Scotland*, or they of *Scotland* ſweare to preſerve the Liberties of *England* and *Ireland*, when ſome of our Liberties are ſo contrary to each other, that our very eſtabliſhed Lawes and Oaths cannot lawfully be obſerved and taken by the proper Subjects of all three Kingdomes? We may as well (for ought I can ſee) in reſpect of our Oath, enter into a League and Covenant with *France*, or *Spaine*, nay, with the *Turks* themſelves, mutually to preſerve their Liberties, and they ours.

Quære 4.] Why muſt we ſweare to preſerve the Liberties of the Kingdomes, and not (as formerly in the Proteſtation and other Covenant) the Liberties of the Subject? Did the Contrivers of this League perceive, that the poore oppreſſed Subjects of this Kingdome do begin to be ſenſible, that their Liberties were never ſo much incroached upon and infringed, as ſince they ſware once and againe to maintaine and defend them? and therefore ſome ſuch new-deviſed Liberties muſt be pretended, that the people may ſtill heare the ſound of Liberties, to inchant them, whileſt their cruell, but cunning, oppreſſors were robbing and ſpoyling them of thoſe ſmall remaines of Liberties, which the loyalty and honeſty of ſome of their deſpiſed brethren have as yet preſerved to them? Where are thoſe Liberties of the Kingdomes, here pretended, to be found? or who are the better for them? Is it for the Liberties of the Kingdomes, to ingage all three Kingdomes in an unchriſtian, unnaturall, bloudy Warre? Is it for the Liberties of this Kingdome, to invite the Subjects of another Kingdome, to invade us, and our Religion it ſelfe? Is it for the Liberties of this Kingdome, for the Subjects thereof to be plundered of their goods and cattell, and ſeperated from their families, and ſequeſtred from their demeſnes, to be debarred of their trading and traffiquing, to be impriſoned in their bodies, and (which is the greateſt tyrannie of all) to be forced in their Conſciences to unjuſt and illegall Oaths and Subſcriptions? I would we had but liberty to ſpeake our thoughts, and we ſhould ſoone tell you of what Kingdomes theſe are the Liberties.

Quære 5.] How comes the preſervation of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdomes, to creep into our Oath, before the preſervation of the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority? We had another Method preſcribed us in the ſame Oath, recommended to us by the Houſe of Commons, as you may ſee in the Proteſtation.

Quære 6.]

QUÆRE 6.] Why is the preſervation of the Kings Majeſties Honour and Eſtate, which we have bound our ſelves by our Proteſtation to maintaine and defend, as well as his Perſon and Authority, quite left out of this League?

QUÆRE 7.] In what truth can any man, that joynes with theſe Covenanters, either in their practiſes and attempts, or in the taking of this very Covenant, ſweare, that he will *indeavour to preſerve the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority*, when His Majeſties Perſon and Authority is ſo viſibly ſtruck at by thoſe practiſes and attempts, and his Authority ſo uſurped and incroached upon by the very taking of this Covenant, contrary to his expreſſe command?

There hath ſcrace beene any Rebellion; but the prime Contrivers and complotters of it have pretended the preſervation and defence of their Soveraignes Perſon, at leaſt, that they intended no hurt unto it. But I beſeech ye heare the opinion of the Judges in ſuch a caſe, and that at the arraignement of one who thought his caſe as good, &c. Namely, the Rebellious Earle of a more Rebellious County. The Judges in number eight, declared firſt; *That where a Subject attempteth to put himſelfe into ſuch ſtrength, as the King ſhall not be able to reſiſt him, and to force and compell the King to governe otherwiſe then according to his owne Royall Authority and Direction, It is manifeſt Rebellion*, Secondly, *That in every Rebellion, the Law intendeth as a conſequent, the compaſſing the death and deprivation of the King, as foreſeeing that the Rebels will never ſuffer that King to reigne or live, which might puniſh or take vengeance of their Treaſon and Rebellion*, Declaration of the practiſes and Treaſons attempted and committed by *Robert* late Earle of *Eſſex*, &c. Imprinted *Anno* 1601.

QUÆRE 8.] What doe they meane by that clauſe of limitation, *In the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes*? If they intended fairely by this reſtriction, why did they not annex it as well to the preſerving and defending of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament? But ſurely here the Jeſuite (the Covenanters beſt friend) hath put in his foot inſtead of the Biſhop: Let us take a taſt howſoever, and becauſe they ſhall not ſay, that we pervert or corrupt their meaning, we will take this Text, as it is explicated by an Expoſitor of their owne, an *Eſſex* Teacher, and his name *Ward*, in the laſt Volume (if I miſtake not) of his learned Works; Intituled, *The Analyſis, Explication, and Application, of the Sacred and ſolemne League and Covenant, &c.* (as followeth in that glorious Title, licenſed to the Preſſe by *James Cranford*, one of the Chamber-Chaplaines of Arch-Presbyter, and Preſſe-Maſter Generall, *Iohn White*. And according to his uſefull, and (if you will beleeve his owne boaſting profitable

ofitable Explication) the meaning of this portion of ſacred League and Covenant, is this. *By indeavouring to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes, we are to underſtand, either* First, *That we, by indeavouring the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, doe truly and really indeavour the preſervation and defence of his Majeſties Perſon and Authority; they being his beſt friends and ſtrongeſt ſupporters of his Perſon and Power, who ſtand moſt ſtoutly for the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdome, the Kings Throne being eſtabliſhed by piety, equity and Law:* or, Secondly, *That we thereby promiſe to indeavour to preſerve and defend his Majeſties Perſon and Authority, ſo long as he really indeavours the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes.* A moſt ingenuous and genuine Expoſition: and to my apprehenſion, it ſpeaks the full meaning of that Spirit, that dictated this ſacred League and Covenant, and none but a Jeſuite, or ſome well devoted to the Jeſuites principles, (as the principall contrivers of this League are) would have made ſuch a reſtriction to an Oath of Allegiance to their Soveraigne, or have publiſhed ſuch an explication thereof, when they had made it. For if we underſtand this clauſe in the former ſenſe, then this ſwearing *to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes,* is no more, then to ſweare over againe, what we were required to ſweare before in the precedent parts of this League, *viz.* That we will indeavour to preſerve and defend the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes. And that is no more ſecurity to the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority, then 'tis to the Perſon and Authority of the meaneſt Subjects in any of the three Kingdomes. If we take it in the latter ſence, though his Majeſty would deſire (as he hath often in effect proteſted in the preſence of God) no longer to enjoy any preſervation or defence of his Perſon and Authority, then he doth really indeavour the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, yet for us his Subjects, to ſweare to indeavour to *preſerve and defend his Perſon and Authority*, only ſo long as he really indeavours the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, is implicitly to forſweare a great part of our duty and Allegiance towards him; we that are his Subjects, being bound by our Bonds of Allegiance and Obedience, to preſerve and defend the Kings Perſon and Authority, though he were an Heathen or Pagan, though he were a Perſecutor or Tyrant. As hath been ſufficiently demonſtrated by ſundry Worthies ſince theſe unhappy diſtractions, and hath beene ever profeſſed and maintained by all Orthodox Chriſtians in former

ages.

agrs. But to give them rope enough: Who ſhall judge whether his Majeſty doth really indeavour the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, or not? To ſay, that every private man is to be Judge in this caſe (as there are not a few that would challenge that power) were to expoſe the Kings Perſon and Authority to the mercy of every Subject, yea, to the mercy of every Anabaptiſt, Papiſt, Browniſt, Traytor and Villaine. To ſay that the two Houſes of Parliament are Judges in this caſe, were to render the Kings caſe not very ſecure, eſpecially as the caſe now ſtands; for they have already declared and ſworne, and required others to ſweare, that they believe the ſame (*viz.* in the laſt Covenant before this) That his Majeſty hath raiſed Forces againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of the Subject. And therefore, if they be his Majeſties competent Judges, it is like to go hard with him in their Court, he having, in their judgement, already forfeited the preſervation and defence of his Perſon and Authority, if they be no longer to be preſerved, then he doth, in their judgement, really indeavour to preſerve the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdomes: And I verily believe, if the Queſtion were put home to the Complotters of this League; Whether King *Charles* his Perſon and Authority ought to be any longer preſerved and defended, or not? they would not much ſtick to affirme, that they ought not: Yet to colour over their black deſigne, they thinke it good policy, ſtill to ſweare that they will indeavour the preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon and Authority.

ARTICLE IV.

QUÆRE 1.] In what righteouſneſſe or truth, can any man ſweare; *That he will with all faithfulneſſe indeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, &c.* and all other ſuch perſons as are here ſtigmatized? When the indeavouring any ſuch thing, is a breach of that faithfulneſſe, wherein he ſtands bound both to his Soveraigne, and to his Fellow-Subjects, and (as the caſe will certainly fall out with the moſt) to Parents, Children, Friends, Kindred, and who elſeſoever are moſt neare and deare to him, there being none of thoſe, in all theſe Relations, which have not already been proclaimed by theſe Covenanters, as men ſcarce worthy of any other name, then one of theſe thus branded by this Article. And then (which muſt needs render the treachery the more pernitious) this diſcovery muſt be made not onely of what one ſhall be or doe, for the future, whereof a wiſe man may chance to beware, but alſo of what he hath been or done for the time paſt, which is impoſſible for any man to recall. Let but a man retaine that fidelity, which is due from a Chriſtian to an Infidell, and he cannot poſſibly keep this piece of this Covenant, ſo as to anſwer the intent of the impoſers of it.

QUÆRE 2.] In what Judgement can we ſweare to *indeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been and ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdomes from another, or by making Factions or Parties amongſt the People*: when we know by wofull experience, that they, who are ſuch indeed, are ſuch as we dare not name, and they, that are ſo named, are ſuch, as our owne conſciences cannot but acquit from deſerving any ſuch name.

QUÆRE 3.] What are we to underſtand by the *Supreme Judicatories of both Kingdomes?* The Parliaments of both Kingdomes, conſiſting of King, Lords and Commons? or the Houſes of Lords and Commons, ſeparated & divided from the King, not only without his conſent, but contrary to his expreſſe will and command? If the latter, (as doubtleſſe that is the meaning of theſe Confederates) I would deſire all men to conſider theſe foure things. Firſt, whether this branch of this Covenant be not directly contrary to our Oath of Supremacy? For if the Court of Lords and Commons, ſeparated from the King, and acting and judging, not onely without his conſent, but contrary to his expreſſe will and command, be the Supreme Judicatory, then the Lords and Commons, ſo conſidered, are the Supreme Judges, and, by conſequence, the Supreme Governour of this Realme in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Civill, and not the King. Secondly, whether this be not to ſweare away at once, all our Lawes, and all other Rights and Liberties of the Subject, for that we doe hereby ſubmit our eſtates, perſons, and lives, to the will and pleaſure of our fellow-ſubjects, to diſpoſe of them as they ſhall thinke good. Whereas by the Lawes, Rights and Liberties of this Kingdome, no Act of theirs binds or obliges the Subject, without his Majeſties conſent thereunto obtained? Thirdly, whether is not the King himſelfe hereby made ſubject to his owne Subjects? Fourthly, by what grant can the Houſe of Commons challenge any part or ſhare in the Judicatory power of this Kingdome, when they have not power, as they are of that Houſe, to give an Oath to any, or to determine ought concerning any cauſe, except ſome things done in their owne Houſe, nay, when themſelves have acknowledged, that they have no power in Judicatory, 5 *Hen.* 4. except in ſome ſuch caſes named.

QUÆRE 4.] Why doe they name onely the *Supreme Judicatories of both Kingdomes*, meaning I ſuppoſe *England* and *Scotland*) and leave out the *ſupreme Indicatorie* of the third Kingdom, *Ireland*? Will they allow the King to be ſupreme Judge in *Ireland*? (For certainly there is ſome kind of *ſupreme Judicatorie* in that Kingdome alſo.) Or doe they intend to divide the *Judicatory* power of *Ireland* betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; and to trie

trie some of the Irish Incendiaries, &c. in this Kingdome, and others in that?

Quære 5.] Whom doe they meane by those *others having power from the supreme Iudicatories of both Kingdomes to that effect?* Must we submit our estates, persons and lives to every Committee of either House, and to every Sub-Committee in every County, and to every particular man in every part of each County, that shall have a Commission from them to examine and judge us? If the Subject thrust his neck under this yoke, of the freest subject in the world, he will become the greatest slave: and let him take heed of offending, or being accused for an offendor: for whether he deserve it or not, if any of the derived Power shall judge it convenient, (for ought I can see by this League) his neck must crack for it; as not a few necks have already, by vertue of such derivative Power, intrusted with some particular men, imployed by those whom this Article stiles one of the *Supreme Judicatories*. And that which is thy fellow-Subjects case this day, may be thine to morrow, whosoever thou art; though thou be sonne to the great late Lord *Say*, or have done thy Supreme Judges as much service as Sir *John Hotham* and his sonne; unlesse thou canst find some evasion of that subtill distinction of *condigne punishment*, into *such as the degree of the offence shall require or deserve*, or such as some shall *judge convenient*; which, for my part, I conceive, will be as difficult for thee to find, as to make sense of.

Article V.

This Article will not need much examination to discover what is in it. As you read it, you may please to marke the former part for a palpable untruth, and the latter for a deeply dissembled pretence: and in these two you have the sense of what this Article containes. The palpable untruth is that, where they declare, (and sweare to it too) *That the happinesse of a blessed peace betweene these Kingdomes was denied to our progenitors in former times, and is granted unto us, &c.* Whereas, if King *Iames* his blessed Reigne was in former times, and our fathers were our progenitors, we are sure, that a most firme and well setled peace between these Kingdomes was constantly injoyed in those times; and we in these times are denied the like happinesse, though our most gracious King and his Counsell have used all the meanes they were able to purchase and continue it. The deeply dissembled pretence is that, where these Covenanters promise, *That they will each one of them indeavour, &c. That these Kingdomes may remaine conjoyned in a firme peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilfull oppossers thereof*: and yet they themselves raile most bitterly at the Cessation of warre in *Ireland*, and labour most prodigiously to bring in the *Scots* to make warre upon *England*. And how these two can possibly consist with the essentiall conditions of a lawfull Oath, Truth, Iudgement, and

ghteousnesse, is the only *Quere* I make concerning this Article.

ARTICLE VI.

For the discovery of the iniquity and hypocrisie of the former part of this Article, I referre you to that examination of the like branch of the last Vow and Covenant, in the Anti-covenant, *pag.* 45, 46, 47. Concerning the rest of this Article, I propound onely these short *Queres*.

QUÆRE 1.] What if the Lords and Commons, now assembled at *Westminster*, should divide, or withdraw from this union and conjunction (as they have been fairely invited) and command you so to do? Or what if another Parliament legally assembled at another place, or at another time, should require you to renounce this League? Should neither your obedience to the one, nor your affection to the other, prevaile with you?

QUÆRE 2.] What if your deare Brethren the *Scots* should at last shew themselves faithfull and loyall to their native Soveraigne, and true and firme to their late promise passed in the last Treaty, and to their publicke Faith plighted for observing the same, as well as to their former Vowes, Covenants and promises made to God; and so divide and withdraw from this cursed union and conjunction, as inconsistent with their Allegiance, and repugnant to their former Oaths, Covenants, and Promises? should this cause no relenting in you?

QUÆRE 3.] What if some religious, orthodox Divines, whom you have ever knowne to be such; or some sober, judicious Lawyers, whom the whole Kingdome should acknowledge to be such, should through Gods goodnesse and mercy to your poore insnared soules, and his blessing upon their labours, convince you, that this Confederacie, falsly called a blessed union and conjunction, is truly a most cursed conspiracie and combination, contrary to the Lawes of God and man, (as the penman of this discovery doth not altogether despaire of such mercy towards some of you, by Gods blessing upon his indeavours) should not this move you to divide or withdraw from it?

QUÆRE 4.] What if God shall make divers of your fellow-confederates, such publicke prodigious examples, such horrid hideous spectacles of justice and vengeance, as he hath done some already? snatching them from off the earth by strange kinds of deaths, or torturing them whilst they are on it, with more strange diseases: or what if God cause one Confederate to forget all his bonds and ties of Confederacie, and become his fellow-Confederates persecuter or executioner, and so another, and so another? (Looke about you, for there are such already risen up amongst you) will not this startle you?

QUÆRE 5.] What if God shall in the midst of wrath remember mercy, and be once againe so gracious to this sinfull rebellious Nation, as

to

to cauſe righteouſneſſe and peace to kiſſe each other, and truth to flouriſh amongſt us, baniſhing all injuſtice, cruelty, and bloudy warre from us, remanding our lying Prophets to their owne place, and giving us Paſtors according to his owne heart, reſtoring our moſt gracious King to all his royall Rights, Power, and Prerogative, his Kingdomes to their ancient Lawes and Liberties, his Parliament to its juſt Rights and Priviledges, comforting all true loyall Subjects with the unmerited, but faithfully promiſed reward of their patient ſufferings in his owne and his Vice-gerents Cauſe, and converting or confounding all Traytors and Rebels? What ſay yee then? Should not all this tempt you to make defection to the contrary part, or at leaſt to give your ſelves to ſuch an indifferency and Neutrality, as to ſtep aſide to *New-England*, the Iſle of *Providence*, or ſome other of the great Lord protector of the Sea, (it was the ſtile of one of his owne Chaplains Prayers) and Governour of the Iſlands, his Territories? but ſtill you will go on zealouſly and conſtantly in your rebellious courſes, continuing your confederacy, and promoting it, againſt all reaſons and convictions to the contrary, and againſt all lets and impediments, how legall and juſt ſoever? And what yee are not able to ſuppreſſe or overcome, yee will reveale and make knowne to one another, as formerly yee have done, at your Conventicles and other ſeditious meetings, and ſo hatch up another Rebellion, as yee did this, unleſſe yee be timely prevented? If this be your reſolution, we are beholding unto you for giving ſuch faire warning, that ſo we may provide and prepare for you, and that his Majeſty, when God ſhall enable him thereto, may by the advice of his great Councell, take ſuch a courſe with you, as may free his Kingdomes from ſuch ſworne enemies to their peace and quiet, or throughly purge you from all ſuch trayterous and rebellious thoughts and reſolutions.

I have done with the Articles. A word or two of the *Epiphonema* or Concluſion, and then I ſhall have finiſhed the whole diſcovery.

CONCLUSION.

"And becauſe the Kingdomes are guilty of many ſinnes and provocations "againſt God and his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt; as is too manifeſt by our preſent "diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profeſſe and declare before "God and the world our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our owne ſins, "and for the ſinnes of theſe Kingdomes, eſpecially that we have not as we "ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſpell, That we have not la-"boured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not indeavoured "to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walke worthy of him in our lives, "which are the cauſes of other ſinnes and tranſgreſſions, ſo much abounding "amongſt us. And our true unfained purpoſe, deſire, and indeavour for our "ſelves and all others under our power and charge, both in publike and pri-

te, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each
one to goe before another in the example of a reall reformation, that the
" Lord may turne away his wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe
" Churches and Kingdomes in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make
" in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true in-
" tention to performe the ſame, as we ſhall anſweare at that great day, when
" the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord
" to ſtrengthen us by his holy ſpirit for this end; And to bleſſe our deſires and
" proceedings with ſuch ſucceſſe, as may be deliverance and ſafety to this peo-
" ple, and incouragement to the Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, or in
" danger of the yoake of Antichriſtian Tyranny, to joyne in the ſame or like
" Aſſociation and Covenant, to the glory of God, the inlargement of the
" Kingdome of Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace and tranquillities of Chriſtian
" Kingdomes and Common-wealthes.

In this cloſe of this Covenant, I deſire ye, firſt to admire at theſe confe-derates diſſembling with God as well as with men, in that they acknowledge the preſent diſtreſſes and dangers of theſe Kingdomes to be the fruits of their ſinnes and provocations againſt God and his Sonne Jeſus Chriſt; and yet, as if they defied both God and Chriſt too, or at leaſt, deſired the increaſe of thoſe diſtreſſes and dangers, wherein theſe Kingdomes are plunged, they goe on in their ſinnes and provocations with an higher hand then ever, adding to their lying and ſlaundering, plundering and robbing, to them, killing and murdering, to them, rebellion and treaſon, to them, blaſphemy and perjury, and to all, a vowed reſolution of obduration and impenitency. Secondly, I congratulate their ingenuity. That whereas they had ſworne in their laſt Vow and Covenant, that they were heartily ſorry both for their owne ſinnes, and the ſinnes of this Nation, being advertiſed by him, that wrote the Anti-Covenant of their falſe ſwearing in that particular, they now forbeare to ſweare that they are ſorry either for their owne ſinnes, or the ſinnes of this Kingdome, and ſweare only, that they deſire to be ſorry for both. But then, Thirdly obſerve withall their abominable ſhifting, when they come to declare what ſinnes of either ſort they deſire to be humbled for. They name not one of thoſe particular, tranſcendent, crying ſinnes, that reach heaven, and pull downe vengeance from thence upon theſe Kingdomes; ſuch as pride, gluttony, drunkenneſſe, ſweareing, lying, oppreſſion, cruelty, rebellion, treaſon, blaſphemy, ſacriledge, &c. whereof themſelves are moſt fowly guilty; but confeſſe only in generall; That they have not, as they ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſpell, that they have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and have not indeavoured to receive Chriſt in their hearts, nor to walke worthy of him in their lives; which is rather a proud phariſaicall caſting off upon others, then an humble

penitent

penitent acknowledgement of what they have done themselves: For, if you will beleive them, they will not be long in your company, ere they tell you that they value the benefit of the Gospell at such a rate, that they will part with their estates, liberties, lives and all, rather then part with it, or the liberty of it; that it is for the purity and power of the Gospell, that they make all this stirre, create all these troubles, raise all these forces, and hazard the ruine of all three Kingdomes; and for the receiving Christ into their hearts, they can tell ye the very man that brought him to them, and the very minute that he entred, and many strange stories of what he hath wrought in them, though scarce one good deed wrought by them: But for their walking worthy of Christ in their lives; because that cannot be so dissembled, but that their abominable wickednesse doth testify the contrary to their faces, they have two plaisters, the one called the infirmities of the Saintes, and the other, God sees no sinne in those that are his, which as they spread them, will salve all sores, and render them in their owne apprehensions (notwithstanding all their vildenesse and filthinesse) most holy and pure. Fourthly take notice of their professed resolution. They professe and declare before God and the world, that it is their true and unfaigned purpose, and indeavour for themselves and all others, under their power and charge, both in publike & private, in all duties they owe unto God & man, to amend their lives, and each one to goe before another in the example of a reall reformation; that the Lord may turne away his wrath, &c. A large profession, as 'tis their usuall manner to make such, would to God it were once in their hearts to practise what they professe, and I should not much doubt, but the Lord would soone turne away his wrath and indignation from these Churches and Kingdomes. But what meaneth then the bleating of the sheepe in our eares? Why are the true shepherds driven and forced away from their flocks, and theives, and robbers, wolves and other beasts of prey set to watch over them, no wonder if the sheepe bleate: or why are so many husbands and fathers torne from their wives and children, and deprived either of their lives, livelyhoods, limbes, or liberties? poore sheepe and lambes, can they do lesse then bleate? If ye had any purpose or desire (much more if your indeavoure seconded that purpose and desire) to discharge your duties to God and man. Why doe ye dayly blaspheme God and the King? Why doe ye despise dominion and speake evill of dignities? Why do ye rend and devoure your poore brethren, making your selves drunke with their bloud & still thirst for more? Why are servants set on horse-back & Princes made to walke as servants? Why doth the Childe behave himselfe proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable? Is this to goe one before an other in the example of a reall reformation? Will these practises helpe to turne away Gods wrath, or move him to establish truth

and

ind peace, in theſe Kingdomes? Me thinkes ye ſhould not dare thus to mocke God, how much ſoever ye diſſemble with men? But ye doe like your ſelves; thus to continue your hypocriſie throughout each clauſe of your Covenant, and to hold it out to the laſt ſyllable. Only remember what followes and tremble at it. This Covenant thus diſguiſed with hypocriſie, and full fraught with all manner of iniquity (as hath beene diſcovered unto you) ye profeſſe and declare to make in the preſence of Almighty God the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true intent to performe the ſame, as ye ſhall anſwer at that great day when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed. Where conſider, I humbly intreat you. 1. What it is ye ingage by ſetting to this ſeale; 'tis no leſſe then the ſalvation of your ſoules, and all the mercy, comfort, and glory, which ye hope for at that great day. 2. Conſider to whom ye ingage all this; 'tis to him that is able to require the forfeiture, and no doubt will take vengeance of all ſuch as are ſo fortiſhly prodigall, as to ingage their ſoules and all the good that their ſoules can have any intereſt in, or hope of, upon ſuch termes; Thirdly conſider for what it is that ye adventure to runne ſuch an hazard. 'Tis to performe that, the performance whereof will, without infinite mercy, ruine both your ſoules and bodies for ever. And conſider laſtly in whoſe preſence ye paſſe this judgement. 'Tis in his preſence, who will be a twift witneſſe againſt falſe ſwearers, and a ſevere judge of thoſe, who tranſgreſſe his holy Covenant, and enter into an impious Covenant of their owne, to maintaine tranſgreſſions and impiety. And for your prayer wherewith ye cloſe up all, beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen you by his ſpirit for the performing your Covenant &c. I ſhall not wiſh as *David* once did, concerning the prayer of ſome wicked and deceitfull Confederates againſt him, That this prayer of yours may become ſinne or (as ſome tranſlations read it) may be turned into ſinne] *Pſal.* 109. For 'tis ſcarce ought elſe; but I ſhall ſo turne this prayer upon you as moſt humbly to beſeech the Lord, That all ye, who are ſo blinded and hardened in your ſinnes, as to beſeech the Lord to ſtrengthen you by his ſpirit in ſinning yet more and more, may feele the ſtrength of ſinne ſo terrifying you, and the power of his ſpirit ſo humbling you, and the ſucceſſe of your deſires and proceedings, ſo indicating and indigitating the unjuſtneſſe of them; that Gods people in theſe three Kingdomes taking warning by your example, may ſeeke deliverance and ſafety only by ſuch meanes and in ſuch wayes as God hath preſcribed, and that all Chriſtian Churches, infeſted with, or in danger of the like rebellious, ſeditious unchriſtian, tyrannicall Confederates, may abhorre and deteſt both this and all ſuch like Hypocriticall, Jeſuiticall, Anabaptiſticall, Diabolicall Combinations and Conſpiracies, ſo diſhonourable to God, ſo ſcandalous to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and ſo deſtructive to the peace and tranquillity of all Chriſtian Kingdomes and Common-wealths.

FINIS.